

THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1957

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 84TH ANNUAL FORUM
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, MAY 19-24, 1957

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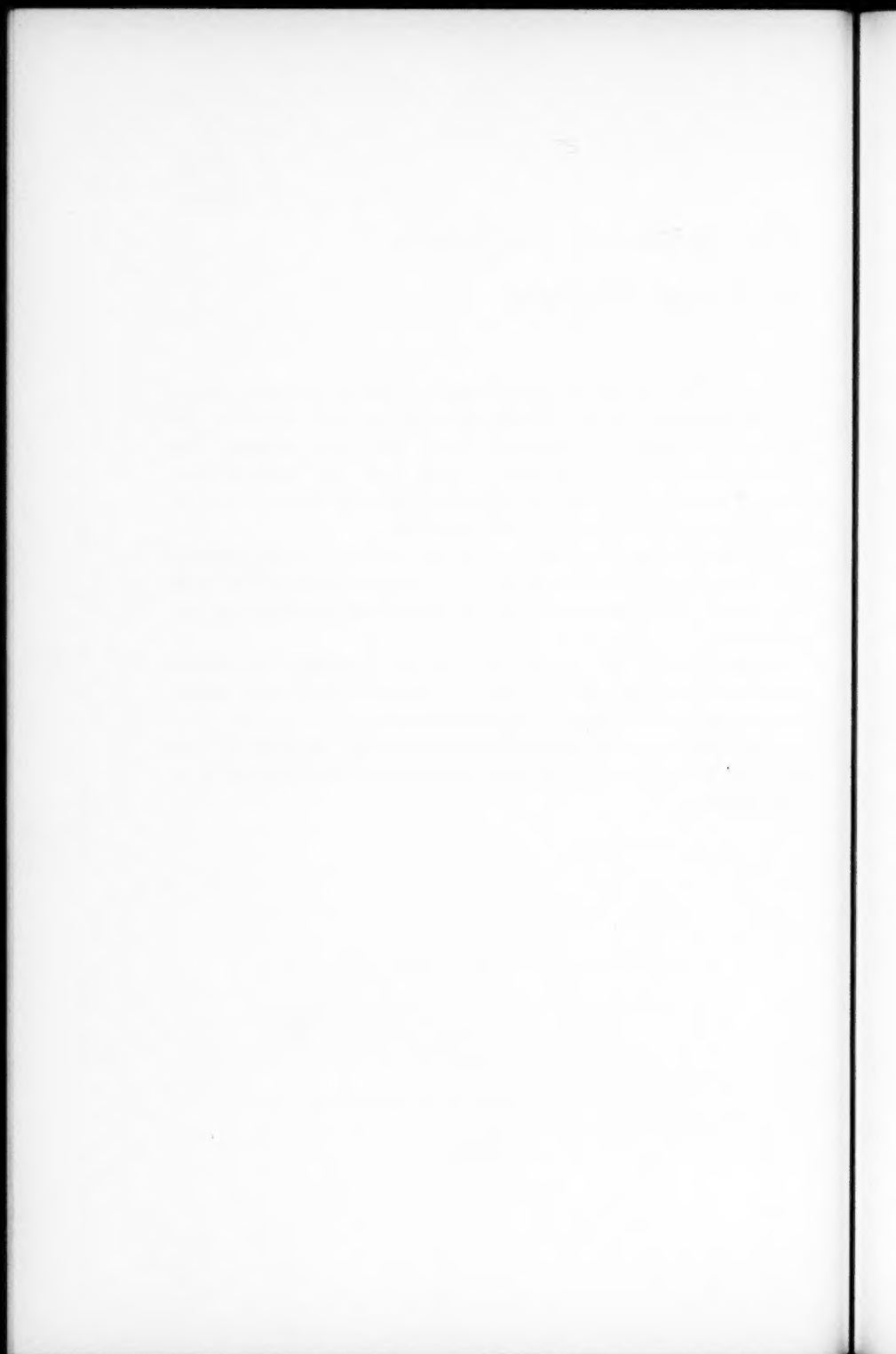
The National Conference on Social Welfare

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE, a voluntary association of individual and organizational members, has since 1874 provided a national forum for social welfare. The change of name, effective July 1, 1956, from the National Conference of Social Work, was voted by the members to describe more accurately its purposes and functions.

The annual forums furnish a two-way channel of communication between paid and volunteer workers, between social work and allied fields, and between the functional services and the profession.

In addition to the annual forums, the National Conference serves as a clearinghouse of basic educational materials for use on local, state, national, and international levels.

The Conference has a comprehensive publications program, and provides services to the state and international conferences of social welfare.



Foreword

THE VIGOR OF THE THEME of the 1957 Annual Forum, "Expanding Frontiers in Social Welfare," is manifest in the twenty papers that comprise this volume. As the very borders of the world in which we live have been pushed outward, so have the advanced regions of thought and action in social welfare. What the explorers of these new regions are discovering is recorded in the following pages.

The new name—National Conference on Social Welfare—reflects the sweep of the membership's interests, aims, and concerns which extend beyond the immediate province of social work. The profession, which at times has struggled to assure its right to "eminent domain," is now enjoying the rewards that come from sharing a common domain with countless others—among them the mental health specialist, the sociologist, the cultural anthropologist, the adult education specialist, and the politician.

More than sixty-five hundred persons attended the 84th Annual Forum. This was the third largest in the history of the Conference and the third such meeting in Philadelphia. Two hundred and thirty-one individual sessions were held.

Dominant among the themes that recurred throughout the five-day meeting was the call to energetic leadership in formulating social policy and in promoting it through social action. Many speakers highlighted the sobering fact that ground already won—particularly in the crucial public welfare programs—may yet be lost unless renewed efforts are made to halt the drive for economy at the expense of human need. Others stirred their audiences out of any complacency they might feel in regard to the progress made toward eliminating economic, educational, and social segregation throughout the nation. All the speakers, whether reporting a particular type of experience, identifying the gaps in knowledge or skill, or sounding a challenge to new endeavors, gave evidence of

the rapidity with which society and its institutions are changing. Social work must gain perspective about its own functions if it is to influence the course of these changes.

Selecting the relatively few papers, from the more than one hundred submitted, to be included in this official record of the 1957 Annual Forum has been a difficult and demanding task. The Editorial Committee has attempted to choose those contributions that best reflect the present or that portend the future. Most of the papers given at the General Sessions are included, as well as some of the papers given at Section and Combined Associate Group meetings.

It was with regret that the Committee was compelled to exclude many papers that warrant the attention of the molders of social welfare programs as they are called upon to serve an ever larger population. Fortunately, some of these papers will be published in other Conference volumes: *Casework Papers, 1957*, *Planning Social Services for Urban Needs*, and *Group Work*.

The historical backdrop against which the validity of the selections made for these several compilations may be viewed is to be found in the new edition of *Trends in Social Work: 1874-1956—A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* by Frank J. Bruno with chapters by Louis Towley, published this year by Columbia University Press.

Members of the Editorial Committee were Emanuel Berlatsky, Joe R. Hoffer, Ellen Winston, and Elinor P. Zaki. Eula B. Wyatt gave staff service to the committee. The committee wishes to record its deep appreciation of the assistance given by members of the Conference staff and by Mrs. Dorothy M. Swart, Columbia University Press, who is editor of this volume.

ELINOR P. ZAKI

Chairman, Editorial Committee

July, 1957

National Conference on Social Welfare Awards

TWO NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AWARDS for outstanding contributions in social welfare were presented by Margaret Hickey, President of the Conference, at the General Session on Monday morning, May 20, 1957, in Philadelphia. The recipients were selected by the Executive Committee on the basis of nominations received from Conference members, the Associate Groups, and State Conferences of Social Work.

The two recipients and their citations were as follows:

For his outstanding contribution to the development of sound public welfare in this country. During more than twenty years of service with the Federal Government he played an indispensable role in shaping our social security programs. His unique contribution has been in bridging the gap between the inner sanctum of expertise and the laymen who make public policy—a need that becomes increasingly important as questions of public social policy grow in complexity. He has done this through his own exceptional combination of personal qualities and general background, which secured for him the complete confidence of members of Congress, the Administration, including both parties, and the social welfare field—WILBUR J. COHEN, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

For his outstanding contribution to human welfare in this country by dramatizing for the Nation the effects of segregation and successfully speeding up the ending of one form of discrimination in the country as a whole. He has made creative use of the self-help principle in getting a large number of Negroes to band together to try to improve their own status. In so doing he has exer-

cised firmness and consistency in leadership, with the result that the members of the group have demonstrated a truly remarkable degree of self-discipline—REVEREND MARTIN L. KING, JR., Montgomery, Alabama.

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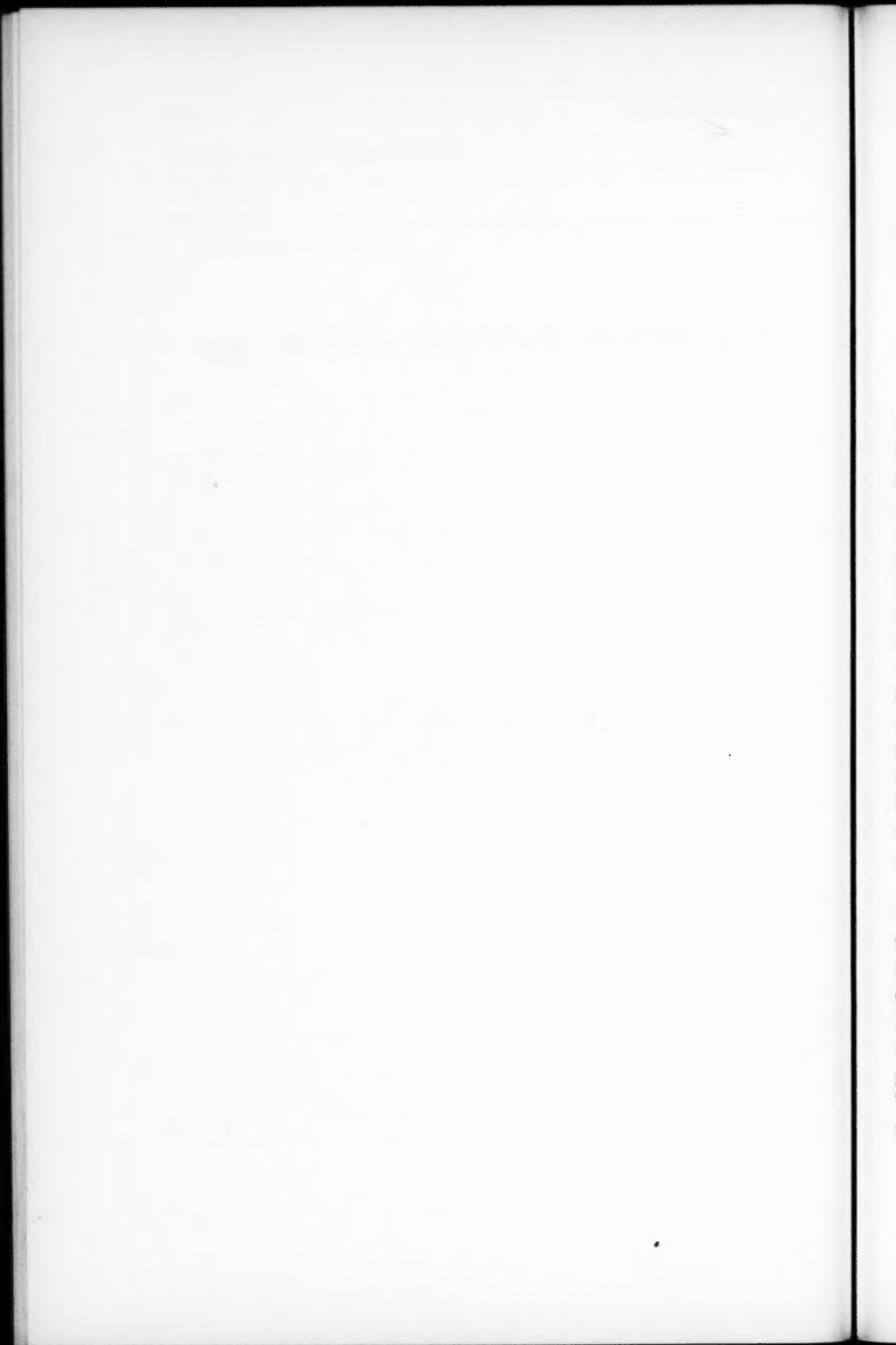
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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1957



Presidential Address

by MARGARET HICKEY

THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE of your president's address, as I understand it, was to give the Forum a statesmanlike, scholarly message from the viewpoint of a distinguished member of the social work profession. Mine of necessity must be a departure. A lawyer by profession, an editor by fortunate chance, I am a lay volunteer by choice. In the past year, as your president, I have found the climax to some thirty years in the last role. Because of this year's puzzlements and new frustrations and in the exhilaration and excitement of its challenges, I have often turned to leaders in your profession. And so again I have called upon specialists to help make the opening session, as those in the past have been, one of expert and lucid communication of new insights developing in the broad field of social welfare. Save for casual correspondence and conversation, each speaker has prepared independently. If a common denominator emerges, it will be even more meaningful because it has been unpremeditated; and when they are contradictory, they will help us, I believe, to realize that to "achieve unity, we must have an affection for diversity."

Our Forum is meeting this year, as it has so many times before, in the presence of great historic demands. The times call for extraordinary effort. Along with the breakfast coffee, we see the headlines. News that one day might have gone only to the chancelleries and to leading statesmen beats in upon us. Whether we like it or not, we cannot escape the world's problems. Social welfare as a factor in their solution is making history. The success of governments depends upon helping people to lead fuller lives. The field of public welfare commands from established governments all over the world great slices of their budgets; from their

citizens, tax investments to insure the kind of environment in which a sound economy can flourish. Newer governments make vast promises of hope, food, and well-being, even as appalling authoritarian pressures make impossible the kind of freedom essential to well-being.

Science has given us the tools to heal and to help mankind and, in doing so, to reach all peoples at the point of their deepest need. The great ethical and moral heritage of the world's religions has endowed us with a profound sense of responsibility to translate it into reality. Vast material resources have given us the cash assets: we can afford to put our social welfare house in order.

But if we can do what we want to do—why don't we? The most charitable explanation is that we still do not understand why we should do it. Another is that we lack the courage; or perhaps we need the advice given a traveler in ancient times who, upon asking his Indian guide, "How are you able to pick your way over these jagged peaks without ever losing your direction?" received the answer, "That's easy, sir. I use the near look and the far vision. With the one, I see the step directly ahead. With the other, I guide my course by the stars."

At this annual Forum, perhaps we can study the problems close at hand and, at the same time, think about a whole new consensus on social ideals, on the need to define, unify, and endow social welfare's goals so that all people will find in them a rallying point. Fresh conviction and energy are needed to swell the great currents already flowing within this field of endeavor; for social welfare, of course, could never have come into existence without a passionate belief in the individual human spirit and the courage to rise above the meanness and the poverty we see all about us.

Higher and ever higher standards of living are accompanied by growing social inadequacies. Children are disabled and deformed by bad housing and resulting family conditions. Scores of thousands of the lonely and bitter ones strike out against themselves and others while community leaders chatter about juvenile delinquency. Social planning councils hesitate while the budget-cutters of the fund drives wipe out fresh new operations of great potential worth, leaving old-rooted, overlapping ones to survive.

Citizens' answers to some of these problems are being found, often without the initiative we could supply. The Washington, D.C., Commissioners' Youth Council with the help of professional social workers loaned or assigned by the United Community Services, has found a real neighborhood approach.¹ It has studied situations where research can be combined with action and has worked with the schools, the judge of the juvenile court, the U.S. Employment Service (to provide gainful employment). It is responsible for such imaginative inventions as an odd-jobs project for teen-agers, a clothing program to improve the school attendance of needy youngsters, the organization of a Gang Committee made up of volunteers with the roving-worker approach, and a Case Conference Committee made up of volunteers with professional qualifications. No funds being available to purchase extra service, the Council set up an effective plan for supplying volunteer personnel, providing necessary equipment and meeting other needs.

Most important of all, new community links must be established where they did not exist before, if we are to provide the professional teamwork essential at home to relieve tensions, just as it must be carried across national frontiers if we are to work positively with peoples the world over who need our help as we need theirs.

Certainly, in our own communities we must discover ways to work where social welfare today is little thought of and less appreciated. If we are honest with ourselves, we must concede that the search for new frontiers in too many places has come to a standstill, if not a retreat. Only a few miles from an old city's deteriorating heart, you will usually find the air-conditioned, gleaming regional shopping center, the interurban equivalent of the military PX. There are 1,800 of these centers. I have visited quite a number but I have not seen many signs posted by the social services. A few can be found—the Red Cross, YWCA, Girl Scouts, perhaps. But where are the new social inventions needed to solve the new problems?

The young woman pushing her supermarket basket past the

¹ See Marion Wade Doyle, Report, D.C. Commissioners' Youth Council, 1953-56 (mimeographed).

rows of full shelves does not have anything comparable to a near-by settlement house where she can resolve some of her "split-level" personal problems. She sometimes reaches the divorce court without ever finding a way station of helpful counseling. Her pretty teen-age sister at the wheel of a convertible may drive to a crude abortionist before she would even think of turning to a social work agency. "What!" she might say, "Me talk to one of those busybodies?" When I inquired about the plans of one of the newer agencies seeking funds and support for a program for the chronically ill, I was told, "We don't want to hire any social workers—we need people who really care."

Before it is too late, a "breakthrough" of the bureaucracy of social work must be made to a vast public. People are so irritated by what they call "red tape" and by what seems to be a cold, technical approach that they turn to the black market in adoptions, the unsupervised home for the aging, or they stay in the tragic, dark places of poverty and distress rather than seek help.

A doubting public wants more evidence of a better "bedside manner." A deep love and consideration for humanity is not ruled out by specialization, although it is easy to lose contact even with each other as we overemphasize our specialties. Indeed, sometimes our only shared experience is the one when we hold the floor and talk in our own strange and impenetrable tongue. The distances widen between those who serve and those who are served. The chasm becomes even more dangerous between those responsible for social policy and action and those responsible for its administration.

We must recapture the richness of spirit so often lost in the paper work and the underbrush of a technical jungle; for an intellectual standoffishness threatens. We might well recall T. S. Eliot's, "Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the life we have lost in living?" The new machines of automation may make work less human; let us make sure that the techniques so dearly bought through study and research do not make social service seem less humane.

For the historic growth of social work in the United States began with the compassion and vitality of a small group of leaders

who realized the importance of sharing with people within and outside the new profession their own sense of social responsibility. At Hull House, Henry Street, and other settlements, the social-work ethos reached men and women firsthand through seeing and working near the tragedy of slum-born life. Under Jane Addams, Lillian Wald; Agnes Ward Amberg, their volunteer apprentices learned a striking mastery of politics. They became the social actionists who stormed the legislatures and overcame citizen inertia. A vast public caught the contagious spirit of these amazing leaders, and new social programs, both public and private, gathered the kind of support even public relations experts today cannot produce.

What can we do to educate a new generation to even more complex social responsibilities?

At this point, it might be well to talk about the role of the volunteer. Here we have reached an impasse. For many years, I have talked to volunteers about the need to insure the employment of highly trained personnel for those functions for which they are especially qualified; now, unless the greater initiative comes from the professionals, we are in a very bad way indeed because the present rigid distinctions bar volunteers from anything but the insignificant chores. Professionals must give serious thought to reallocating functions now performed by professionally trained personnel (in tragically short supply) to equally competent volunteers. Many of these tasks are better performed by part-time, nonprofessional auxiliary personnel. New experiments are needed to create opportunities and attract able people to the volunteer social welfare role.

Of course, the vanishing volunteer finds other community tasks. A whole new trend in community organization has impressed the public. Its central inspiration comes from such varied groups as labor unions, Rotarians, sororities, churches, the armed services, museums. There is a tremendous increase in organized labor's formal participation in social and civic organizations. Labor is searching for experience in the hope that community agencies will look to it for leadership as they now do to older, more established groups. Business management also is using health and wel-

fare indexes to determine socioeconomic trends as a basis for expansion and even to determine new plant locations.

In the newer aspects of community interaction, social welfare has lost ground in reaching this vast volunteer audience, who contribute their talents in such fields as fund-raising, recreation, friendly visiting, public relations, and even accounting and administration. Twenty-five million of us, men, women, and children, go out every week from our homes, evenings, week ends, because we want to exercise the most precious of all rights—the right to pay for our room on earth with the small change of personal contribution. These individual efforts—the back-of-the-scenes work—constitute the foundation for the social optimism of our time. The great test ahead for social welfare is to get people to make this extraordinary effort.

Our problem is to satisfy this deeper hunger of the individual for a sense of responsibility and citizen obligation, not only at home but throughout the world. To recapture the advanced positions taken by the pioneers, ours must be a new mood to match the spirit of a changing community; otherwise, we shall be left behind with an obsolescent plant, remarkable in its day, but entirely inadequate for an era of automation, atomics, and electronics. The trails may be treacherous ones, but with “the near look and the far vision” we shall discover new frontiers in widening knowledge and honest, critical judgments.

Services to Individuals and Families

by KATHERINE A. KENDALL

PERSPECTIVE TAKES ON SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE at this time. There are many signs that as a professional group we are (or perhaps we always have been) addicted to self-flagellation. We are our own worst friends and severest critics. Our self-doubts and our lamentations about what we should have done that we did not do, what we ought to do that we are not doing, appear, in too many instances, to go beyond the desirable boundaries of constructive self-criticism.

To see in perspective is to see things in proportion, to encompass all dimensions. It is my hope that we can view in perspective many things which we already know but which need to be reaffirmed about the nature of social work as a professional service. At the core will be placed service to individuals and families, but I cannot leave it at that since professional social work service cannot be so neatly compartmentalized; all its dimensions must be noted.

Social work is both an art and a science in human and social relations. As such, it shares the same ultimate ends and many of the proximate goals of other human relations professions. Like any profession which deals intimately with human beings, it expects that its activities will maximize individual potential for coping satisfactorily with life's difficulties. Like all other human relations professions, it offers a service which cannot be performed adequately without special professional preparation.

Social work is distinguished from other professions by differences which are not yet universally understood or accepted. The fact that social work activity is implicated in all types of human need and cuts across the entire social and economic fabric gets in the

way of clear definition of function. Nevertheless, there are characteristics that, taken together, make for a distinctive professional totality which is social work and which differs from the totality that might be put forward for medicine, psychology, psychiatry, teaching, religion, nursing, and so on. A clearer understanding and firmer grasp of our own professional totality might enable us to feel more comfortable about not being all things to all men—which, obviously, we cannot be—and might enable us to stand firm on our own professional base as we work with, learn from, and contribute to, other disciplines.

Social work is, in the main, concerned with situations of stress, with unmet or unsatisfied human and social needs. So, too, are many other professions, but a distinctive characteristic of social work is that its area of activity lies in the social sphere of man's living. When we ask what is it that hurts, where is the strain, what is the need, the answer determines whether it is our professional competence or some other which can best be called into play. The hurt, the strain, the need, may grow out of inner discomfort or outer disturbance. If social functioning is adversely affected, whether by inner or outer stress or both, and if the disturbance in social effectiveness is the primary problem, the responsibility is clearly that of the profession of social work.

With the responsibility clearly defined, it then becomes the task of social work to assess the nature of the need and the problem, to estimate the capacity of the person to handle the problem, to foster every inner strength of the person toward the goal of finding his own solution, and to utilize all the outer resources of the environment and the community which might be of value in this problem-solving endeavor. If the community resources needed are inadequate or nonexistent, it is also the social work task to marshal support for obtaining new or better resources.

In working with groups and with communities as a whole, the social worker uses the same enabling and problem-solving procedures which characterize his work with individuals and families. Social as well as individual problems arise out of stress situations and out of unmet or unsatisfied needs. The desire of teen-agers to gather with their own kind may lead them into antisocial gangs

or into socially constructive groups. The desire of communities to "do something" about delinquency may lead to repressive police measures or to an enlightened system of prevention. The choice that is made in such instances may depend to a considerable degree on the awareness and availability of professional social workers qualified to assess and understand the nature of the need and to provide professional assistance in moving the group or community in the direction of constructive rather than destructive action.

It follows that the giving of help in a skilled, professional way toward the goal of improved social functioning lies at the core of all social work activity, whether undertaken on behalf of individuals, families, groups, or communities. This is the professional service which social work offers, and it is precisely on this point that social work is least understood by the general public and perhaps not sufficiently well understood by our own occupational group.

The desire of one human being to aid another in times of need and stress is ingrained in all of us. Indeed, without such deep-rooted humanitarian impulses, life might well prove intolerable. The helping hand of neighbor to neighbor, the sporadic impulse to help as expressed in the dropping of a coin in an outstretched hand, the charitable acts which characterize certain seasons of the year—all reflect our common humanity, but they do not constitute social work activity. A belief persists, nevertheless, that anyone with compassion and humanitarian interests who extends a helping hand or gives time to humanitarian causes is *ipso facto* a social worker. While such persons, through their participation in community efforts to prevent and alleviate or cure social ills, are a wellspring of encouragement and support for social welfare activities and for professional social work service, they are not practicing social work.

What, then, is the essence of the skilled helping process which characterizes professional social work and which differentiates it from the friendly help which any person might offer another? In brief, this process rests on deep understanding of human needs and behavior, on understanding of man interacting with his social circumstances, on knowledge of cause and effect in social and in-

terpersonal disharmony, and on knowledge of the resources in the environment—human, social, and economic—which can be utilized for the benefit of the individual, group, or community needing help. It operates through a purposeful working relationship in which the need and the problem are met in ways which strengthen individual, family, group, or community potentialities for self-direction and more satisfying living. It involves ethical and philosophical considerations about man and society in which human welfare is seen as the purpose and test of social policy and full recognition is given to the inherent worth and dignity of every individual, regardless of race, color, creed, or endowment. It accepts the fact of individual differences and nurtures the potential for growth and change in man and society. If the capacity for growth has been severely distorted or damaged beyond repair, the process offers the support needed to protect both the individual and society.

The helping process calls into play the warmth and compassion of human relationships and the discipline of a scientific approach involving study, diagnosis, and treatment in each individual situation. The center of interest is the person, family, group, or community presenting the need or problem, and not the problem in and of itself. Thus the process emerges as enabling and disciplined, not manipulative or haphazard, not authoritarian or imposed. It is a process of mutual participation and purposeful interaction directed toward ends which are socially desirable and in conformity with the needs and capacities of the individuals, families, groups, or communities concerned.

A second distinctive characteristic of social work is that it operates within, or in relation to, social organizations or institutions. The agency or organization may have a clearly identified social work function and purpose, or it may use social work as a means of enhancing the effectiveness of other professional functions and achieving other health and welfare objectives. The services and programs organized by our society in response to social and human need constitute today a \$23-billion investment through taxes or contributions by the American people in the well-being of our nation. These services which directly or indirectly touch about two

thirds of the population take many different forms, but the professional knowledge and skills of social work are, or could be, used at all operating levels in all of them.

The third and final distinctive characteristic of social work is a natural outgrowth of the way in which social workers use the helping process and the fact that social work practice takes place within an organizational structure. The social worker does not stand alone in carrying out his professional task. He works within an agency or program which is connected in ultimate purpose with all other agencies and programs designed to promote social well-being. In every situation, the social worker considers simultaneously the individual and his environment. Because man and society are, for him, inseparable concerns, individual help and social betterment go hand in hand.

Social work thus takes on a liaison or coordinating responsibility in the sense that it is the social worker who serves, or should serve, as the connecting link in the chain of social endeavors and resources forged to promote a better community and a better society. In the performance of his helping task, the social worker tends to become a "social diagnostician" for the community since his day-to-day activity reveals lacks and unwholesome conditions in the environment and throws into relief the need for new or improved services.

In bringing together the professional helping process, the organizational auspices, the liaison responsibility, and social functioning as the field of endeavor, we give to social work a totality which is quite different from the totality that might be put forward for any of the other service professions. True enough, the psychiatrist and the psychologist use the helping process and a purposeful working relationship; the teacher works within the framework of a social institution; the doctor removes obstacles to the productive use of human capacities; the clergyman may make use of community resources, and so on; but it is the particular combination of all these characteristics that gives the social worker his professional identity and dictates the body of knowledge and skill necessary for his professional competence. All professions attempt to see man whole, but each has its special field

of endeavor. The doctor, in general (except, of course, the psychiatrist, who is concerned with emotional problems), is concerned with physical ills; the teacher is concerned with development of the intellect; and the clergyman, with spiritual needs. This is by no means to say that these professions, at their best, see only their special concerns and fail to take into account the many forces which impinge on the lives of the people they serve. It is to contend, however, that social work because of its primary concern with man interacting with his social circumstances has to concentrate to a degree not generally true in other fields on the *interplay* of social, cultural, economic, physical, and psychological factors. Such an emphasis is a necessary concomitant of our service to man in his environment and an outgrowth of our goals which incorporate both individual well-being and social betterment.

This view of social work stresses the fluidity within stated boundaries and the ongoing searching nature of social work as a professional service. In this context, social work cannot remain satisfied with the knowledge of today, but must look continually to tomorrow's knowledge for new insight into yesterday's insoluble problems. This view does not predicate that social work can always prevent or will always relieve the manifold miseries, both large and small, to which man and society may fall heir, but it embodies within it our aspirations and our strivings in both these directions. When seen in perspective and in all its dimensions, social work as a professional service makes a contribution to society in which we can justifiably take pride and for which we need make no apologies. With this conception of social work we can look with confidence and security toward the expanding horizons of social welfare and fall into step with others—whether professionals or volunteers—in meeting the new demands of a changing society.

Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

by NATHAN E. COHEN

AN EXPLORATION OF EXPANDING FRONTIERS can be done in terms of setting and special areas of problems, with emphasis on the territories which have been opened or reopened to those utilizing the group work method in social work. I refer to settings such as hospitals, correctional institutions, schools, clinics, and so forth, and services for special groups, such as the aged and the disabled. Expansion of this type, however, need not necessarily reflect a pioneer spirit and effort, but rather "more of the same" in more places. In fact, it might even reflect a search for new territory because to remain in the old hangouts might mean having to face change in more dynamic terms. There is another way of looking at expanding frontiers and that is in conceptual terms, as contrasted with complete absorption in how to expand "more of the same." I refer to the adventure in new ideas, new concepts, and new theories.

If one were to ask, "What is new today?" there is no question that we could report that the aspirin and empiric age has moved to a new level best described as the "Miltown age." Within another context it might be viewed as the "hard-to-reach age." In this age, we are discovering that the old methods do not work too readily, but we are loath to hypothesize that one of the reasons may well be that they are based on our perception of social institutions of previous decades. Rather than face this, we tend to abandon our earlier goals or to scale them down by seeking those settings in which our methods can work best. Interestingly enough, such "ritualism" gives high priority to situations in which con-

formity rather than rebellion can be the order of the day. I refer to work with the very young and the very old and with the physically disabled as contrasted with the adolescent, the young adult, and the adult.

We have been moving through a period of great social change, but have been fearful of evaluating or trying to understand its full implications. Out of insecurity we have tended to cling even more intensely to our known methodologies, almost with the hope that times would return to "normalcy" and make our methodology look good again.

What are some of the changing characteristics of present-day society which have special meaning for us in social work? Much of our thinking is predicated on what Mills refers to as a classic view of democracy-of-individualism, the market of free ideas, the power of free discussion, and the harmony of group interests. Mills regards this view as "a set of images out of a fairy tale." It is his viewpoint that although the United States "today is not altogether a mass society," it has "moved a considerable distance along the road to the mass society."¹ We have not solved the problem of how to live with bigness and yet avoid the depersonalization of life. We have discovered in the past several decades that the Marxian approach of attacking the social institutions which he felt were responsible for the depersonalization of life and the Freudian emphasis on the importance of finding the spontaneous self are not bringing easy solutions. Furthermore, we have trained our professionals so specifically within single dimensions that in a period which calls for a more holistic approach to problems—most of which are of a multidimensional nature—we are finding it difficult to think in terms of new Gestalts and regress quickly to mistaking the part for the whole or to adding up some of the pieces without ever seeing their relationship to the whole.

Whether we will it or not, the America of individualism and of small independent groups cannot be seen apart from the tide of growing collective forms in all areas of life. Before we try to

¹ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), Chap. 13.

abstract the individual or the group too readily, let us keep in mind the following types of observations about our society:

Families and churches and schools adapt to modern life; governments and armies and corporations shape it; and, as they do so, they turn these lesser institutions into means for their ends . . .

The life-fate of the modern individual depends not only upon the family into which he was born or which he enters by marriage, but increasingly upon the corporation in which he spends the most alert hours of his best years; not only upon the school where he is educated as a child and adolescent, but also upon the state which touches him throughout his life; not only upon the church in which on occasion he hears the word of God, but also upon the army in which he is disciplined.²

This is a very small and limited example of a massive face of our times: that we all of us have come to take it for granted that we shall trade off some of our personal independence for the protection of our security by institutions. Not only have we become used to having a big government which intervenes in our affairs in many ways; we have become used to having all manner of private organizations similarly look after things for us. One might sum up the change by saying that for the rugged American individualism of tradition we have been substituting a rugged American Associationism.³

I seem to have been putting my case in the extreme. This is being done with a purpose, namely, to shake us out of a renewed attempt to worry about our distinctive characteristics, without equal concern as to whether social work, with all the distinctive characteristics, is tuned to the problems of a changing society. For example, the present controversy in group work as to whether there is a distinction between social group work and work with groups sounds strangely like the series in a previous decade titled, "Let x = group work." Is the challenge of the day to find the distinction "between the nature of the task-oriented group as compared to the growth-oriented group?" Gertrude Wilson points out that "in the former, the group enabler's *primary* responsibility is to support the group to accomplish its task; in the latter,

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Frederick Lewis Allen, "Economic Security—a Look Back and a Look Ahead," in *Economic Security for Americans* (New York: the American Assembly, 1953), p. 14.

the enabler's *primary* responsibility is to help members to use the group experience to resolve problems which are interfering with their personal growth and their social adjustment."⁴ In a "rugged American associationism," in an America where interdependence is as important as independence, is not separation between task accomplishment and social growth and development a bit artificial? In fact, is not part of our failure in working with youth the one-dimensional emphasis on growth and development without sufficient understanding of social institutions and their meaning? We pay lip service to the important concept that we can never divorce the individual from his social institutions and their constant impact on him, but invariably seek the answer only in psychological terms. The psychological dimension is important, but if there is a social problem of real magnitude we can be sure that the problem of group norms also is involved. There is growing evidence that many individuals who function well and decently in less extreme situations lose their sense of independence and social responsibility under stress. They succumb to the social pressures and equate existing mores with morals, losing sight of the basic precepts by which mores must be constantly evaluated.

Essentially, we must learn to utilize our knowledge of group and institutions as well as that of individuals to help prepare people for life in today's society. Hairline separation between identification with task accomplishment and social development does not necessarily lead in the direction of needed perspectives. There is, it is true, a use of group for social adjustment in the treatment sense, but this represents only a small part of the approach in a program of prevention and preparation for effective living in the American society. It may, within one perspective, seem like the more professional aspect, but a narrow professionalism is not always synonymous with progress and change.

Expansion of our frontiers in social work can be accomplished only through the combined efforts of the constituency of the National Conference on Social Welfare. Schools of social work have

⁴ Gertrude Wilson, "Social Work Theory and Practice Viewed against New Trends and Developments," in *New Developments in the Theory and Practice of Social Group Work* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1956), p. 41.

a major responsibility in that they are shaping the minds of the future. These minds can be shaped in static terms, with emphasis on the acquiring of information and on technical skills learned in mechanical fashion; or in dynamic terms, with emphasis on conceptualization, sharpening of critical abilities, and on technical skills learned within the context of principles. One grows a bit weary with the formulation that the "rebellious" mind be saved for social policy and social action and that the more conforming mind be steered into working with individuals and groups around their adjustment, growth, and development. We must learn to distinguish between the destructive and the constructive rebel. We need constructive rebels in the conceptualization of the clinical as well as in social policy. Our task in the schools is not to replace rebellion with conformity but rather to help channel it into constructive use. In the final analysis, the able scientist, spiritual leader, teacher, and businessman are rebels in relation to their pursuits. The curricula of schools must begin to reflect the growing impact of research, the social sciences, and a renewed interest in values to help prepare the pioneers who will have sufficient courage and knowledge to participate in the expansion of the only frontiers which are not closed, namely, those of the realm of ideas.

In order for the schools to move in this direction, they must have the cooperation of the agencies. Agencies, too, must free themselves of the notion that we have found the answers and that the only need is to train more workers to expand what is now being done. We need an experimental mood that encourages staff to test new ideas and acquire new knowledge. In this type of climate there will be less impatience with the student who moves into full responsibilities gradually but who, after a period of time, will function at a much better level than the narrowly trained technician.

The professional association is another essential ingredient. Standing halfway between the schools and the agencies, it can provide a balance between the tug toward the creative and adventurous on the one hand, and the everyday demands of reality on the other. In many respects, it represents the key link in that it

is the connecting artery through which the lifeblood of new ideas can flow between the consumer and the producer of the school product.

I have been pleading for a new frontier of thinking in social work, emphasizing that more of the same approach is not the answer to the problems with which social work deals and the future of democracy in this generation. We need creative and adventurous minds that can not only help meet today's problems as best we can, but also contribute to new avenues and new approaches. We have so identified with our present methodology that we show a tendency to view our fragmentary knowledge as whole truths, forgetting, in the words of Whitehead, "there are no whole truths; all truths are half-truths. It is trying to treat them as whole truths that plays the devil."⁵

Social work is involved in an important period of transition. It is feeling the same impact evident in the sciences in general. After a period of intensive knowledge about specialized pieces, there is an emphasis on trying to put these smaller pieces into larger wholes. Social work, as it goes through this process, is rethinking the three dimensions essential to any formulation of human relations: the individual, or the psychological; social institutions, or the sociological; and goals and values, or the philosophical. The challenge of the period is not merely to acquire knowledge in all three dimensions, but rather to discover an integration of this knowledge into patterns which provide a program and methodology of prevention as well as remediation. Our geographical frontiers have been closed since the turn of the century. The type of frontiers we have been discussing never close, for they are in the realm of ideas and knowledge. Any roadblocks are those created in the minds of men. Let us use our knowledge and skill to remove such roadblocks; for more important than our accumulated knowledge is our constant endeavor to obtain new knowledge.

⁵ Lucien Price, *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954), p. 16.

Services to Agencies and Communities

by ROBERT H. MacRAE

THE TIDAL WAVE of urban growth which is sweeping across America is the stubborn, overriding fact which faces social welfare in the 1950s. Since 1950 no less than 14 million new inhabitants have crowded into our metropolitan areas. Much of the growth reflects a massive movement of population from one part of the country to another. The tidal force of this movement has by no means spent itself. Responsible forecasters estimate an addition of 50 million people to our metropolitan areas between 1950 and 1975.

I need not mention the staggering individual and social problems which accompany mass migration and explosive growth. They represent for American social work sobering obligations as well as magnificent opportunities for human service. Suburban growth presents to social welfare planners an opportunity they have never before possessed. The history of organized social welfare planning is relatively short. It came upon the scene late when the patterns of service were largely established. At best, its efforts could be little more than remedial. American cities are a social welfare jungle of disorderly growth. We now have the opportunity in hundreds of suburban communities to guide growth and to undertake preventive planning rather than patchwork remedial effort. Here is the test of social statesmanship for the present generation of social workers. We need to raise this question: Do we have the imaginative and creative spirit to face successfully this fresh opportunity in the ordering of American society?

The problem is not one to be deposited like an unwanted foundling on the doorstep of community organizers. The whole of American social work has a responsibility. The insights gained

in the best of the United Community Defense Services experience suggest new cooperative methods by many agencies in meeting human welfare needs on the new frontiers. The capacity to capitalize on this experience in another, but no less significant, emergency will be the test of the maturity of American social work.

The impact of these social changes suggest that now is an appropriate time to review the conventional structural organization of American social work. In our reflective moments all of us are led to wonder if we have not carried functional specialization much too far. Our now classic hard-core families must find it confusing to be served by a dozen workers from as many agencies. Even more distressing, however, is the segmentation of our approach which prevents us from viewing the needs of the family in their totality. Because we think segmentally no one worker is able to assume the entire responsibility of mobilizing all the specialties to bear upon the family's problem. Such integrated effort is difficult. It is not impossible. Generic thinking which sees clearly the interrelatedness of functional specialties may give us new forms of organization better suited to our times.

A review of the organization of services must be accompanied by an equally critical examination of process, utilizing sound research methods. In the face of insistent pressures to meet present needs, we must have the stamina to set aside time and money for the development of new and more effective methods. This community organizer does not propose to suggest to the caseworker and group worker how these things should be done. He is pleading for a lively capacity for wonder which will ask continuously, "I wonder if there isn't a better way?" The citizens who pay the bill have a right to expect critical analysis from us. We have not exhausted our credit with our backers but we most certainly have extended it. A continuous search for a better way is a part of the obligation we owe as a professional group to those who support us as well as to those we serve.

The new circumstances in which we find ourselves demand of community organizers the development of an entire new set of relationships. We are learning that relationships with the traditional health, welfare, and recreation services are not enough.

The problems of urban redevelopment, transportation, highways, housing, and economic development are intimately related to the problems of health and social welfare. City planners share with us a sense of values and a concern for human needs that encourage a comradeship in arms. It is becoming increasingly possible for us to work cooperatively with city planners in making social welfare planning an integral part of a broad community plan for the improvement of urban living. Our approaches in such planning are as yet tentative and limited. The potentialities which lie in such cooperative planning capture the imagination.

The ferment of public interest in urban renewal and redevelopment presents significant new opportunities for welfare planning councils. Urban renewal authorities require active citizen participation as a basic element of a sound community plan eligible for financial help. Social welfare planners have extensive experience in enlisting citizen support. This experience is a concrete contribution we can make to the urban renewal movement. We can, however, contribute much more than a technical skill. We can introduce and make vivid a comprehensive concept for rebuilding urban community life. A concept that insists upon the relatedness of physical, economic, and social planning, it sees clearly that active citizen participation in the decision-making process is essential to success. This is an exciting opportunity. We must find the will and the resources to seize it.

Growth of urban communities brings with it another problem of concern to social work just as it is to government. It is a paradox that as concentrations of population grow our sense of isolation as individuals grows even more rapidly. The individual feels swallowed up. He believes he no longer counts. He has no way of being effective as a citizen, standing in the full dignity of his citizenship. If cities are to survive as fit places for human habitation we must solve this problem. Methods must be developed to destroy this deadening isolation. The whole burden of the problem does not fall on social work. With our sensitivity to human needs we have, however, a particular obligation of leadership. The neighborhood council movement has potentialities, not yet fully exploited, to deal with the isolation of urban living. We

need to invest more money and more of ourselves in the movement; for the problem of isolation constitutes a growing frontier for social work. Democratic urban society cannot survive unless the decision-making process is widely diffused; unless the average citizen finds an effective way of participating in that decision-making process. Perhaps social work can point the way.

Urban growth has been characterized by increasing concentrations of Negroes and other racial minorities in the heart of our cities. This provides a new dimension to an old and familiar problem. The social corrosion inherent in segregation and ghetto living is known to every social worker. Social work has a responsibility for leadership on this social front. It is my hope that quietly, without moral preachment or condescension, we may demonstrate our belief that segregation is morally bankrupt with social costs too great to be borne. This demonstration begins in our agencies with employment of staff on the basis of merit, regardless of race. It begins with building a board in which minority members are accepted as something more than a mere symbolic testimony to our liberalism. It is easy to see the mote in our brother's eye—particularly if he is a Southerner. We must not ignore the beam in our own if we are to give effective leadership.

New obligations suggest new demands for manpower in a field already lamentably short of personnel. Unhappily, the prospects are dim that any substantial number of young people will enter the field in the next decade. Our recruiting efforts must extend beyond the secondary school and the undergraduate level. The married social worker, her children now grown, is a source of womanpower to be tapped. An even more productive source will be the thoroughgoing job analysis which promotes utilization of social workers at the highest level of their skills. This seems to me long overdue. Does one need a master's degree in social work in order to make economic eligibility investigations for public assistance? I think not. It is high time we followed the example of the nursing profession and learned to make better use of available trained personnel.

Finally, I wish to direct a comment specifically to my colleagues in the voluntary field. It is high time we recognized that the far-

reaching decisions in social welfare today are being made by government. Furthermore, these decisions are all too frequently made by men with little or no experience with social welfare problems. Decisions in my state and yours are being made almost solely on the basis of financial considerations even though those decisions affect the very lives of hundreds of thousands of people. We of the voluntary field have been cavalier and irresponsible much too long in our attitude toward public assistance programs. The time is here for responsible citizenship; for a readiness to participate in political debate. Failure to do so is an abdication of professional responsibility to millions of men, women, and children who look to us as their spokesmen. Sunshine patriots do not win the battles for human welfare. Our task did not end with the creation of agencies of government to deal with the alleviation of poverty. In a very real sense our responsibility *begins* at this point. Agencies of government become and remain sensitive and humane only as thoughtful citizens hold these agencies accountable. The creation of a structure of responsibility in a mass society of big governments is a task liberals cannot ignore. If we fail, government may become master and not servant. With characteristic acidity, Shaw once remarked, "Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it." Social workers must not be indicted on the count of irresponsibility.

The Problem of Prediction

by ROBERT L. THORNDIKE

THE ABILITY TO PREDICT is the crowning glory of science. In the last analysis, it is by the range and accuracy of his predictions that the scientist is judged. Though we have become rather inured to the wonders of science, and take such things as television sets and space travel in our stride, I think there is no one of us who does not pause with a little thrill of wonder and pride when we see in the newspaper a statement that there will be a total eclipse of the sun starting at 8:05 A.M. tomorrow morning, and that there will not be another total eclipse of the sun in our particular area until June 3 of the year 1986.

The type of understanding of nature's phenomena that makes forecasts of this sort possible still awakes in all of us, I believe, a little of the superstitious awe of the jungle savage seeing for the first time the great bird that comes out of the sky, lands on his open plains, and disgorges men like himself.

Of course, all physical science does not achieve the specificity and effectiveness of predictions that are represented by the astronomer's forecast of the paths of the heavenly bodies. However, the ability of the geologist to infer from seismographic records of artificially generated shock waves in the earth's surface the nature of the underlying strata, and to tell the oil company "drill here" has been sufficiently accurate so that we continue to heat our homes, power our cars, and operate our railroads with the products of his predictions. These are probable and contingent predictions, not always right but right enough of the time so that they are enormously important and valuable to us. It is this type of prediction that we may hope to achieve in the fields of social science.

The first essential step in any enterprise of prediction is to define clearly what it is that is to be predicted. In the case of physical science, most of the phenomena that we as laymen are aware of as things to be predicted are relatively familiar, explicit, and clear-cut. The position of a heavenly body, the outcomes of a chemical reaction, the occurrence of a particular pattern or structure in the earth's surface, are relatively discrete, unequivocal, and readily understandable events. In much of social science this is not so. Concepts are fuzzy, events are enormously complex, and defining what it is that we are to predict represents a major and sometimes a rather formidable enterprise.

It has been suggested that I take as a concrete example of prediction in the field of social science the problem of predicting the success of the students in a school of social work. Let us keep this concrete example before us as we review the methodological problems of prediction in social science. As I have said, the first such methodological problem is this one of defining what we are undertaking to predict. In our example this means defining "success" as it applies to a student in a school of social work. What are the earmarks of the successful student?

Of course, there is an easy answer to this question. Wherever there is a system of marks and grades these represent one definition of success, and we can always simply accept this existing definition as our own without examining it further. We can blandly say that we will use whatever grade-point average is administratively available as our definition of success and that the matter is closed. But this is rather a craven abdication of our responsibility. We have not examined the issues at stake. We have not penetrated deeply into the heart of the problem. We have solved it by ignoring it. We have accepted a crude, unexamined administrative pattern as having real and fundamental meaning. Suppose that we are dissatisfied with an uncritical acceptance of what is. Suppose that we seek an answer for ourselves, rather than blithely accepting the authority of current practice. Where, then, can we turn for an answer to the question: "Who is the successful student?"

Training in social work, as in education, medicine, and nurs-

ing, is professional training oriented toward adult life and the world of work. The validation of a training program must be found, then, in the world of work for which it is the training. If we agree that the good graduate from a school of social work is the good apprentice social worker, then we have pushed our problem back one step to that of determining who is a good worker and what the identifying behaviors of this good worker are.

How are we to go about defining the characteristics of a good social worker? What sorts of things might we do to make this concept accurate and valid? The first possibility is to rear back in our chair, put our feet up on the desk, and think about it. We build a mental model of the functioning social worker in terms of the background of experience that we have acquired to date. We think about activities. We hypothesize traits. We organize a total hypothetical picture. If our experience is wide and our wisdom is great, this picture may contain substantial elements of truth. However, it is a hypothetical picture and it is our individual picture. It is not tested against the experiences of others or the realities of external events. It is subject to all of our personal biases and is probably cast in a vague and general mold.

A second possibility is to canvass a group of alleged experts in the field, and to obtain from them statements of qualities and characteristics that they conceive to be indications of the successful worker. By doing this we broaden the base of our description and substitute for our individual biases, the pooled biases of a group. The process of pooling may have some virtue, but the descriptions that we get are all too likely to be couched in generalities that are too broad to provide a meaningful definition. We may be told that a social worker should have a warm personality, should be insightful with respect to human motivations, should understand the dynamics of human adjustment. But what do these characterizations signify in terms of observable behavior? If we are to develop appraisals of success that are to serve as criteria to be predicted, the distinctive characteristics must be formulated in terms that are sufficiently tangible and specific so that we can indicate the behaviors that represent them. What does a "warm personality" mean? How do we recognize it when we see it?

A third possible approach to defining the good social worker is through the accumulation of what have been called "critical incidents." In order to gather critical incidents, we go to the worker in the field or to the supervisor. We ask the supervisor some such questions as these: "Think of a social worker under your supervision who did something that was especially effective within the past two months. What was the situation? Describe it in detail. Just what did the social worker do? Why do you consider it effective?" Or we pose the reverse problem. We ask for a description of an instance of behavior that was distinctively ineffective. What were the circumstances? How did he "goof off"? Why was it a "goof-off"? The emphasis here, you see, is on behavior, not on labels or general characteristics. The attempt is to identify significant behaviors, critical behaviors. Once we have accumulated an adequate sample of these behaviors (and an adequate sample certainly means several hundred, possibly several thousand), we have the raw material for a catalogue of knowledge, skills, and actions that clearly distinguish the effective from the ineffective worker. We must then organize and group the specific behaviors into general categories, and into more precise categories under these. We shall use the specific incidents as illustrations to define and give concrete meaning to the categories. However, if the questions we ask are well phrased and the classification of responses thoughtfully carried out, we have the possibility of providing on the one hand a well-organized structure and on the other, very concrete behavioral definitions of the criteria that we hope to predict.

So far we have been relying upon others to do our observing for us. A fourth possibility is that we may use our own judgment or the judgment of a supervisor who knows the particular worker well to identify for us specific good and poor workers in our field of interest—currently social work. We may then ourselves observe these workers carrying out the duties of their position. We can go with them on a series of visits. We can sit as a participant observer in an intake interview or a case conference. We can record for ourselves the significant actions and compare for ourselves the behaviors of the good and the poor worker. This approach has the appeal of immediacy of contact with the events. We have reduced

to a minimum the number of intervening steps between the significant behavior and our record of it. However, it must be admitted that the enterprise is a costly one in the time to make and to analyze the observations. Significant events will occur relatively rarely. There is much lost motion in our efforts and much deadwood in our sample of behavior to be observed.

In the plan that I have just described, we are at the mercy of the nominator who identifies for us good and poor workers. In many ways we would be happier if we could define them by the fruits of their work. I am sure that many of you are much better acquainted than I with the efforts to measure "movement" of clients of social agencies and better able to judge the realism of a proposal that one define good and poor social workers by the influence that they have had upon the clients with whom they have worked. In so far as this is feasible and realistic, then, observing those who have been successful in the sense that they have produced desirable outcomes in their client contacts, and defining the actions that represent successful social work through observations of these individuals, has a good deal of appeal.

The study of the workers in any occupation serves many functions, but we are today concerned primarily with two. One of these is that of identifying the knowledges, skills, and attitudes exhibited by the successful worker. The other is developing hunches as to the aptitudes and personal qualities that make a person able to acquire these knowledges, skills, and attitudes. We may say in passing that a really adequate understanding of the demands of the job is of fundamental importance also for realistic thinking about curricula and training programs.

A useful definition of the good graduate should be couched not in broad generalities but in concrete observables. It helps but little to say that the good social worker has a warm personality. It helps somewhat more to say that he gets people to talk freely about their problems or that he listens attentively when the client is talking or that he makes tentative suggestions rather than dogmatic assertions. It helps relatively little to say that the good social worker is insightful, but perhaps somewhat more to say that he offers plausible hypotheses as to the motivations underlying problem be-

havior. Before we can have any reasonable prospect of converting our definition into operations for appraisal, we must express our definition in concrete and observable terms. There is little likelihood that we can get any real consensus as to who has a "warm personality," because this phrase denotes different things to different appraisers and because it is an evaluation which may reflect the evaluator as much as the person evaluated. If there are tangible specifics through which a warm personality manifests itself and if we can specify these, our prospects for evaluating them somewhat consistently and objectively in a given person are much improved.

When we have made a thorough analysis of what it is that constitutes success in an occupation, or characterizes the successful worker, we must then develop operations for observing and appraising that success in the group of individuals whom we shall be studying. We must translate the concepts and categories of our job analysis into workable measurement procedures. We must lay plans for obtaining one or more criterion scores for each individual in our research sample.

However well we may have analyzed and defined the behaviors that represent success in an occupation, any criterion measure of success will always be partial and imperfect. The observations that we can make on a person performing in a job are limited in nature and in scope. Recognizing this, we must try to judge in the case of any criterion measures that are available to us or that we may develop how well they do represent the complete and perfect picture of successful performance. There are perhaps four aspects in terms of which the adequacy of any specific criterion measure should be appraised: (1) relevance; (2) freedom from bias; (3) reliability; and (4) practicality.

By the relevance of a criterion we have in mind how closely it does in fact match the complete and ideal description of good performance. Does our criterion measure cover all those behaviors which we conceive to be important in the job? Does it cover only those behaviors? Does it assign importance to each in proportion to its significance and weighting in the job itself?

This matter of relevance is the completely crucial consideration

in appraising a potential criterion measure. If the proposed criterion measure has low relevance for the real and significant behaviors of the job our whole process of prediction may be perverted and distorted. Let me illustrate what I mean by an example with which I happen to be familiar in a field quite remote from social work—the job of the machine gunner in a Second World War bombing plane. During the earlier stages of the Second World War we had occasion to try to predict success in training to be a machine gunner. We found, somewhat to our surprise, that the best predictor of this gunnery criterion was a test of rote memory. At this point we began to examine the criterion measure that was used to define success in the gunnery school. We had been following the easy road and had been using the criterion of gunnery school grades. We found that at that time grades depended in large measure on such things as an ability to memorize and name the parts of the machine gun. Our selection devices had been identifying good namers, not good aimers. When the training program was changed so that the emphasis was upon actual abilities to repair malfunctions in a gun so as to keep it firing, and to hit something with it, our memory test no longer predicted.

By the same token, it would be easy to accept “book learning” as the sole criterion of success in a school of social work. Academic aptitude tests would probably predict this criterion fairly well. They have done so in many other school settings. This criterion probably has somewhat more relevance to working success in the field of social work than ability to name all the parts of the gun had for effective performance by a machine gunner, but possibly not a great deal more. I am sure that all of you would feel dissatisfied with grades as a sole criterion measure or as the completely relevant indicator of success in your occupation.

How is the relevance of some proposed criterion measure to be determined? The only answer that I can give you is that it will be determined by wisdom and intimate knowledge of the job, not by any statistical tricks or manipulations. In the last analysis, it is a purely rational and judgmental decision that says, “Such and such an observation that we can make really matches in an important

way the goal that we are trying to predict," whether that goal be success in an occupation, good results from a therapeutic procedure, or some aspect of general social welfare.

Bias in our criterion measure is one source of distortion and lowered relevance. Bias operates through the halo effects and systematic prejudices in subjective evaluations. In any situation with which we are acquainted in which ratings are used, we are familiar with the fact that one rater will be the milk of human kindness whereas another fortifies his ego by the "high standards" that he applies to all whom he appraises. Bias can operate in more objective criterion measures too. I remember a program of research on soap salesmen in which elaborate precautions had to be taken to allow for the sootiness of the atmosphere, because the normal quota for a soap salesman in the soot-laden atmosphere of the Pittsburgh of that day was quite different from the quota in the ocean-breeze-swept climate of Miami Beach. Objective measures of a social worker, too, might be biased by factors outside the individual worker's control, factors relating to quality of supervision received, area to which assigned, or type of cases for which the individual was made responsible.

Ideally, we would like a criterion measure that is highly reliable. We would like our measuring procedure to give a precise and consistent score for each person wherever and whenever it was applied. We would like the sample of behavior that we evaluate to be sufficiently large so that we would be sure it would be representative of other samples taken at other times and other places. However, low reliability in a criterion measure is much less damaging than low relevance. If errors of measurement are really random chance matters, then we can allow for them statistically and judge how well our predictors would have worked out if we had had a stable criterion measure that was free of these chance errors. The low reliability of our criterion serves to attenuate rather than distort any relationships. As long as we have a reasonable estimate of the criterion unreliability so that we can make appropriate corrections for it, unreliable criterion measures can serve us relatively well.

In theoretical discussions of research design, issues of prac-

ticality are likely to receive short shrift. This is probably as it should be. It is preferable to state the theoretical ideal and then make such concessions as we must to practical reality. However, when it comes to the tactics of research, as distinct from its strategy, practical issues take a larger role. In thinking of what measures we should use to represent success in social work and to constitute the criterion that we are hopeful of predicting, we must always choose a measure that we have some chance of actually getting. We must operate in the world of reality rather than the world of dreams.

With the issues of relevance, freedom from bias, precision, and practicality in mind, and with such resources of wealth and wisdom as we are able to bring to bear on our prediction study, we must assemble a set of criterion appraisals. In the case of the social worker these might include observations in various domains. We might undertake to specify the knowledge that it is important for a competent social worker to possess: knowledge of the findings of research; knowledge of approved and accepted practices; knowledge of the resources available for dealing with particular problems. We might then prepare a test or tests that would sample these items of knowledge. We might also present situations that would call for the interpretation and application of this knowledge. These might involve situations which were described verbally in relatively succinct terms and in which the relevant principles had to be identified and applied. Or the situations might be made more complete and realistic. Thus, for example, we might set up a test situation so that each would have to listen to a complete intake interview, criticize the interviewing procedure, indicate what changes might appropriately have been made, and summarize or synthesize the significant material for a case report. A situational test might involve interpreting the evidence from motion pictures exhibiting interpersonal reactions, and might call for a description of the participants involved or an evaluation of the interpersonal dynamics. Another type of criterion measure might involve observations and evaluation of performance in interpersonal relationships. Most realistically, these observations might be made of actual field work on the job.

The behaviors to be observed and the standards of performance would stem from the job analysis that lay back of the current evaluation instrument. Though actual field work would have important advantages in realism, one could probably get more uniform and controlled observations from simulated interpersonal situations, such as those of a hypothetical case conference, or of role playing in which the student took on different occasions the role of both client and social worker.

In addition to the quality of performance of the work of the job, we might conceive that satisfaction in the job was a relevant criterion measure. From this point of view, in the crudest sense, it might be relevant to attempt to predict the mere fact of continuation through, and completion of, the program of training. Losses from training for reasons other than academic failure might be thought of as one significant criterion variable. More generally applicable might be appraisals of enthusiasm for the job and self-ratings of work satisfaction after a period of realistic work experience.

The criterion appraisals that we have suggested might in some cases take place within the framework of the school program. Others might of necessity go beyond the school both in place and in time and carry the individual out into the world of work and reality.

I have cheerfully suggested the form that certain parts of a criterion appraisal might take. Fortunately, I do not have the responsibility of translating my suggestions into usable instruments. Tailor-made instruments of these sorts are suggested glibly, but prepared only with much pain and anguish. This is true of most good, objective appraisals in social science research. No wonder that we so often fall back on rather shoddy ready-to-wear devices like school marks or teachers' and supervisors' subjective ratings.

For any job there are many components which must come together to provide a comprehensive over-all appraisal. In our prediction problem we may wish to merge these, with appropriate weights, into a single composite criterion. This may be wise if our only purpose is to try to identify the most promising on a total

evaluation. However, it may often be more appropriate to keep several of the aspects of our criterion separate and to try to predict each separately. Certainly our understanding of the prediction problem and of our success with it will be enhanced if we know not only how well we can predict success as a whole but also which aspects of it we can predict and with what. Again, it must be primarily a matter of the research worker's judgment as to which parts of the criterion belong together and which parts should be kept separate in our thinking.

So far I have talked almost exclusively about criterion scores. This I have done intentionally, because the measure of the criterion lies at the very heart of prediction research. Excepting as we have a sound appraisal of which graduates are competent, which employee is productive, or which patients have improved, any attempt to develop predictor instruments is rather futile. We can have no way of knowing whether or not the devices or procedures that we have developed are sound unless we have an adequate criterion measure against which to test them. Our attempts to develop predictors may result in devices that are futile or even pernicious if we have an inadequate or misguided concept of what it is that we are trying to predict.

Of course, we must accept some compromise with the ideal. Otherwise we would never get around to doing any predicting at all. If we required that a perfect measure of training or job success be available against which to evaluate our predictors, we would still be groping hopelessly for that perfect criterion and would have had time and energy to do nothing else. At any given stage in the development of a particular field of investigation we must accept the best working solution of the criterion problem that we can, and while we continue to attempt to improve our conception and our evaluation of the criterion we must move on to the development of predictor instruments.

The work that we have done to help define the criterion of job success should usually suggest the types of predictors that it will be promising to analyze in a program of prediction research. The thorough study of any job or training program will inevitably give anyone with an inquiring turn of mind a number of hunches

as to what qualities a person needs in order to succeed with the program of training or to be effective in the occupation. Since I have not made that thorough study of the job of a social worker, my hunches are likely to be a little superficial and naïve. But perhaps you will bear with me as I continue to use this example to illustrate the type of processes by which we move from the study of the job performance to hypotheses as to promising prediction devices.

I suppose that a study of training for social work would reveal that this training has its book-learning aspects. It would suggest that the student must learn a certain amount of abstract material, in part independently and in part from written sources. I would suspect that this material is primarily verbal rather than quantitative and that consequently the verbal score on one of the usual measures of scholastic aptitude would be an appropriate candidate for a predictor of this aspect of the criterion. Those of you who know the job better than I may have more refined hunches as to the particular types of intellectual aptitudes that we should try to measure.

A second large component of the criterion might perhaps be described as understanding of and ability to manipulate other people. Presumably, wisdom about the dynamics of personal and family problems and about the actions that are likely to be effective in changing ineffective behavior in these problems is one of the important assets of a good social worker. What is likely to predict this type of insightfulness?

One hunch, which I believe has a certain amount of validation in the psychological literature, is that some measure of self-acceptance might be a promising candidate. I believe we have some evidence to indicate that those who have relatively warm and accepting feelings toward themselves as individuals are better able to accept the human frailties of others and to deal with them. All we need now are some operations by which to translate the term "self-acceptance" into a score that we can feel happy about as corresponding to the term. We have made various gestures in that direction through adjective check lists and self-descriptive inventories. There have been some attempts to use the discrepancy be-

tween one's perception of the actual self and one's perception of the ideal self. I am not convinced that these entirely fill the bill, but we might try them as predictors.

Another line of inquiry that we might pursue in trying to predict the individual's ability to understand and work with others is the appraisal of what has sometimes been called "empathy." Empathy is taken to mean the ability to put one's self in the place of the other person and know how he would feel or act. The attempts that have been made to appraise it have usually placed people in small groups, in which they worked together for a time, then have asked each person to describe himself on some set of self-rating questions, and finally have asked each person to predict how the other members of the group have actually rated themselves. Presumably, the person who can accurately estimate the reactions of others after a limited period of acquaintance should be able to make similar sound interpersonal judgments in the natural situations of life or of his job. Incidentally, the observations that one might make on behavior in the small group setting at the time an applicant was a candidate for admission to the social work training program could perhaps also be expected to predict related types of behavior in the many groups in which the social worker must function after training.

Following the same general line of thinking, which might be summarized by the statement that the best aptitude test is often provided by a good achievement test at the individual's current level of experience, it may well be that one of the most promising predictors of later ability to understand and plan for the modification of motivations and behavior in others would be a test in which the individual would be required to analyze motivations and suggest appropriate actions for social problem situations with which he or she could be expected to be familiar. These problem situations have often been presented verbally in proficiency tests for teachers, public health nurses, and industrial supervisors. I have had for years a desire to see what the media of sound motion pictures and television could do to present interpersonal situations with a greater degree of reality, so

that we could test ability to deal with people with much less dependence on verbal and reading skills.

Recognizing that another aspect of any complete criterion measure is interest in, and satisfaction with, the work that one does, and an ability to endure the particular type of frustrations that it presents, one would certainly be moved to try to appraise the interest, value, and temperamental characteristics that make up a personality whose needs would be well satisfied by the conditions of the particular type of work. What needs are the ones that are well satisfied by the life of a social worker? Here I suspect that I am on thin ice. I trust that they are not aggressive needs that are satisfied by poking one's nose into other people's business. I trust that they are rather needs for, and satisfactions in, helping others, and others of that sort. Be that as it may, we have a number of self-report inventories that permit cooperative subjects to reveal interest and value patterns. Given that the circumstances of our prediction study favor cooperativeness in our subjects, the relationship of these expressed needs to later measures of persistence in, and satisfaction with, the field of social work could be studied.

We have some evidence that these needs can also be studied effectively in projective materials like the stories that are produced for the Thematic Apperception Test. McClelland has shown, for example, that students will produce stories with more frequent occurrence of themes of achievement need before an examination than when the examination is safely passed. It is possible that projective materials of this sort might be rewarding as need-indicating devices.

We have enough indication that relatively simple and straightforward biographical materials differentiate between individuals in different occupations, and even discriminate degrees of success in an occupation, so that we could with some hope of reward explore a comprehensive biographical data bank as a source of items that would differentiate degrees of satisfaction in, or probability of persisting in, the particular occupation, in this case social work.

Speaking in general terms, what are the qualities that we seek in predictors? As in the case of criterion measures, I think we can recognize four, and these four parallel point by point those that I have discussed for criterion variables.

The first requirement is that the predictor, if it is to be worth trying, should have a sound rationale. That is, the characteristics that we are trying to appraise should be logically derived from our knowledge of the attributes of the job. The test should "make sense," not necessarily on a superficial level of having surface resemblances with the job but rather on the fundamental level that the qualities elicited by the predictor, in so far as we understand them, should match the qualities required for mastering or functioning on the job. This is the logical foundation on which the validity of a predictor must rest.

A second quality that will be important to us in a predictor is that of objectivity. The predictor score should depend upon the quality of the person being appraised and not upon the characteristics of the appraiser or of the situation in which the appraisal is being carried out. It is with this goal in mind that the personnel psychologist has moved so persistently toward standardized test situations to supplement or replace subjective appraisals.

The third requirement is reliability or precision in our evaluation of the candidate. Reliability becomes more important in a predictor than it is in a criterion. This is because the predictor score is the one upon which we must act. We can make statistical allowances for the unreliability of a criterion, and estimate how well our predictor would have done if the criterion *had* been reliable. However, in the case of a predictor the obtained score for an individual is all that we have, and it is on this that we must take action. We cannot improve it by statistical mumbo jumbo. Any improvement must be through developing a more accurate appraisal device.

Finally, we have the issue of practicality. In the long run, this also becomes a more critical issue for predictors than it does for criteria. Criterion measures enter into a research program and are required on a limited scale. We may be able to invest a good

deal of effort in obtaining them for research purposes. Predictors are ordinarily desired for some type of continuing operational program. They must be of the sort that can be used in practical day-by-day operations. For this reason, considerations of cost, time, labor of scoring, and level of skill required to interpret become much more critical.

If we assume that we have now achieved a set of criterion scores on the one hand and a set of predictor scores or experimental conditions on the other, there are two main types of questions that we are likely to ask our data. The first question is: "Are there any real differences between our experimental groups, defined in terms of type of training, type of therapy, or personal characteristics?" The second question is: "How accurately can we predict our criterion measures from knowledge of scores on the predictor measures?" The first is a problem of statistical inference. The second is a problem of multivariate analysis. For the first problem we have in the statistical literature a catalogue of significance tests. For the second we have an array of techniques for measuring relationships singly and in combination. Each of these questions, together with the data that we have gathered to answer it, gives rise to a host of specific problems and special cases, with particular mathematical models and statistical routines developed for each. We could spend a semester developing the techniques for either of these main problems, but this is not the place for us to start to do so.

What Kind of American Civilization?

by MAX LERNER

I LIKE THE Conference theme, "Expanding Frontiers," because I have just been through an experience with some of them. At the end of the war I undertook, for my sins, a book on contemporary American life and thought which I call *America as a Civilization*. For twelve years of my misspent life I have sat and worked at it while this creature of mine expanded its frontiers, and what started as a pleasant idea grew monstrously. I have now—I won't say *finished* it, because I recall Paul Valéry's remark that a writer never finishes a book but abandons it, but I have somehow come to terms with it and sent it to the publisher. In it I asked the question we must all ask about our civilization: What are its sources and qualities of strength, and what are the things that riddle and weaken it?

I discovered a depressing paradox about this American civilization of ours. It is revolutionary in its forms and speed of change: even while I was writing, my subject was being transformed under my very eyes. It is so dynamic that never in the world's history has so much power and possibility been collected in a single bursting package. And yet—and this is the other part of the paradox—this dynamic, revolutionary society of ours is also fear-ridden, insecure, scared and scarred into conservatism and rigidity.

Consider this revolutionary America. In the past decade there have been changes that have transformed the face of the whole social landscape. There is the automatic factory and the electronic eye. There is nuclear energy both for war and for peace. There is the "engineering of consent" by public relations counsels, and more recently there is "motivational research" done by the in-

dustrial psychologists. There is the "new leisure." There are suburbia and exurbia. There is the guaranteed annual wage, and (coming very fast) there is the four-day work week, to be followed soon by the four-day work end for leisure. There is the revolution that has produced the servantless family, the split-level home, the barbecue pit. There is the kitchen revolution, the food revolution, the revolution in women's jobs and careers. There is—dare I name it?—the Kinsey Revolution. There is the baby boom which started in the 1940s and has produced a phalanx of young people now storming the gates of our colleges as never before in history. There is the reading revolution, especially of the new paperbacks. There are a whole series of new power elites—a new military brass-hat elite, a new expense-account elite, a new elite of corporate executives, a new elite of trade-union leaders. There are all kinds of drugs—drugs to pep you up and drugs to tranquilize you. There are new cures and new diseases, new lives being lived and new deaths being died. Again I say that never has history put together such a package of bursting revolutionary change.

There are things in our civilization that seem to be running away with us. We are suffering from what Adolph Berle has called the "runaway city," as well as from the runaway giant corporation and giant government. We are suffering from runaway atomic power, so cancerous in its new experimental destructive forms that man seems to be reverting to a prehistoric monster across the floors of primitive seas. Is it any wonder that there is also a runaway "mutiny of the young"?

More dangerous, however, than the runaway cancers are the rigidities of our thinking. In addition to the conformist personality there is the new personality mold of what W. H. Whyte, Jr., has called the "organization man." There is the neutrality of the technician who hires himself out as an expert yet himself makes no emotional or moral or intellectual commitment as to what should be done with the world he has helped create.

One form that our rigidity takes is the impulse to have things both ways. We have a cult of "newism" in America: we want the sense of newness and of change; yet we are afraid of the radicals

and liberals whose thinking is crucially the source and test of change. We surround our young people with one of the most sensuous and sensual cultures in the world and at the same time we keep talking of Puritan standards of sexual and moral behavior. One way we resolve this clash is by refusing to recognize it. The typical heroine of the movies or the daytime serials on radio and TV is drenched in seductiveness, yet always emerges cool, chaste, and untouched. This is what Martha Wolfenstein has called the image of the "good-bad girl," who is seemingly bad all through the story yet at the end turns out to have been basically good. Thus we have, by the same token, the good-bad corporation, like the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco) which by a legal device manages to escape paying taxes on its huge profits, but is never guilty of outright corruption. We have also the good-bad nation, with a Secretary of State who seems to have a moral pipeline to God, yet has vaunted the naked Machiavellianism and "brinkmanship" of his foreign policy. In domestic politics we reach the ultimate in this trick of having it in both ways—namely, the philosophy of "progressive conservatism," which an unkind fellow Democrat has compared with the "modern antique" and which I should describe as a kind of dynamic rigidity or rigid dynamism.

Voltaire once spoke of men who have a "taste for chaos." We seem to have a taste for the chaos of incompatible values. It is illustrated at the very core of our power structure, in the major social struggles of our era. One is the struggle for equal civil rights for Negroes. Since the beginning of the New Deal we have moved far in that struggle. The force of constitutionalism, the rule of law, the operation of the open market, the balance of political power, the creed of freedom, the ideals of religion and morality—all these are (or ought to be) engaged on the side of equal rights, and in the long run nothing can stop their victory. Yet how slow it moves. Three years after the great Supreme Court school desegregation opinion of Chief Justice Warren there is still an embittered resistance movement in the South, deeply entrenched against carrying it out. There is still the terrorism of the White Citizens Councils. And neither the Administration nor the

Democratic Party dare speak out with simple clarity for the plainest equities, because both parties are deeply torn on this issue. We sent our Vice President to hail the freedom of the new Negro nation of Ghana, but no official at Washington greeted the Pilgrimage of Prayer. The courage of our leaders seems to be in almost inverse proportion to the distance of the target from themselves.

Another struggle is disguised right now as the "Battle of the Budget," but actually it is more. It is a battle to decide whether the barest minima of the welfare programs of our own nation, as well as the foreign economic aid programs, will be cut down further. If the primitives win on the Federal level they will triumphantly carry their victory down to the state and municipal levels. For a quarter century and more we have tried to establish the idea that our collective energies must go toward assuring the basic life needs of the people, who embody a treasure greater than our natural resources, our atomic weapons, and the whole golden pyramid of power on which we are sitting—namely, the human resources of our country. This laborious construction of decades could now be undermined in the name of trimming the budget. I do not say this is new. There was, for example, the individualist strain in Emerson that led him to that classic outburst of his: "I tell thee, thou foolish philanthropist, that I grudge the dollar, the dime, the cent that I give to such men as do not belong to me and to whom I do not belong." When you read that, from one of our great humanist thinkers, it prompts the question of who belongs to whom. Then try to apply that question to a world where the absence of a sense of human connection—the alienation of man from man—can reduce our own cities as well as the Russian cities to the ashes of radiation death.

Actually, the idea of the welfare state is pretty much accepted. The real struggle is over who will be its beneficiary; or, as we might put it, the welfare state for whom? Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, has been fighting hard against a welfare state for the big power interests, against the Big Giveaway at the expense of the people to a small power minority. Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, has been fighting to strike out some of the favoritism for

giant corporations written into our tax laws. Yet he has been fighting against the "rich man's welfare state" without any success. And the drive to cut down the budget for the basic needs of the people continues—while our children need better schools, our social agencies are bitterly understaffed and our caseworkers underpaid, our slums still wear the scars they have worn in the past, and our tenements (as happened just the other day in New York) topple and collapse and bury people.

America is the first country in human history to have the potentials for abolishing poverty—and I mean abolishing it completely and utterly. Yet the Skid Rows are still with us, the rotten tenements are still with us. There are still people who cannot give their children a chance to grow up straight and strong. We have within our grasp the capacity to attack the vast problem of mental illness, but it requires a concentration not only of money but of skills, of people who will turn their lives and train themselves for this task. And why? Everyday we read in the newspapers that your son ought to become an engineer. The pressure on young people to go into technology and engineering is almost intolerable. All kinds of seductive delights are held out to them. We are told that we shall otherwise lose the race with the Russians. The fact is that the Russians and Chinese have a manpower potential far beyond ours, and they have a totalitarian state which can rigidly direct their young people into chosen channels. We cannot win a race with them on their own grounds. We can win only on the ground of cultivating the resources that stress human creativeness and human construction. "We become what we eat," says Theodore Reik in a recent book. If you oppose yourself always against your enemy on his own terms you become ultimately what you oppose yourself to. I have nothing against engineers, but I suggest that the shortage in engineers is only one of our many shortages. We have a shortage of teachers, of caseworkers and welfare workers, of mental health workers, of psychiatrists. We have a shortage of good philosophers and good novelists and good poets. We are long on shortages.

If we are to expand the frontiers of social welfare we can do it

only by bringing the human personality and the human condition back into the center of the human concern. As James Plant once put it, we must move from the sense of *whatness* to a sense of *whoness*. We are all too much concerned, as Matthew Arnold once put it, with "having and getting" rather than with "being and becoming." Human knowledge and striving must focus on the nature and situation of man. What we require is some vision of coherence about human values with which we can bring order and meaning into the chaos of our day. Upon our capacity to do this, and to do it in our era, hangs the determination of whether this vast and intricate artifact which we call our civilization will die, or whether it will be renewed in strength. I want to speak quite clearly here against what so many of my academic colleagues are obsessed with—the notion of the primacy of the physical sciences and of research in them. I should prefer to give the primacy to human values.

We are now witnessing, in a variety of forms, an assault on the human mind. Take the new tranquilizers and other drugs, for example, that change the whole dynamism of the brain. Take the "hidden persuaders" of motivational research (as Vance Packard calls them) who study the subconscious and the unconscious of the human animal in order to tell the advertiser how he can appeal to fear, guilt, anxiety, insecurity, status, panic, in order to sell his product. Take the synthetic build-up we have witnessed of TV and movie personalities, perhaps even of political personalities. The movie *A Face in the Crowd*, by Budd Schulberg and Elia Kazan, deals boldly with the implications of such build-ups. What ties together these various instances is the manipulation of the human mind and the personality, treating them as objects and not as subjects.

Let me give another instance. In the last year we have witnessed a thawing out of the effects of the cold war at home. There has been a lifting of what Justice Douglas called the "black curtain of fear." Yet we are witnessing even today in Washington the scabrous spectacle of putting on trial the foremost American playwright of our time for refusing to tell a congressional committee the names of people he had known as Communists. Like

every other writer, Arthur Miller can be judged in only one way—by the plays he has written, the characters he has created, the commitments he has made in his life work.

I want to add only a few words. I like the idea of the “moment of truth,” the flash of understanding that comes to you at a particular moment. There are moments of truth in which Americans see themselves with a stark realism. There is no country that can equal America in power, but in our moment of truth we know that America has the kind of intellectual tensile strength or moral commitment that gives a great civilization a great future. We shy away from everything except surface values. The things that we consume day after day in the big media are surface things. Where on TV do you find in adequate depth a depiction of the tragedies or the heroisms of life, of suffering, or the sheer joy of intellectual excitement? Yet these are the deep things in a people and a civilization.

Life can be a deep thing, and so can death. Yet we shrink from death, even from the word. We say about a man who died, not that he died but that he “passed away.” We lack the ancient Greek capacity for facing death, or the capacity of the Spanish peoples today, the *mystique* that allows them to face death as part of the dignity of life. To us death is a period that punctuates the end: beyond that there is nothing. Hence we have little of the feeling of immortality, either in the religious or in the mystical secular sense. Those of you who work with the aged know that we have little reverence for old age. We say about a man, as if it were the greatest possible tribute, that he “doesn’t look his age,” and of course that is the surest way to flatter a woman—as if there were some crime about the aging process, as if it were youth alone that had value.

Yet, when it comes to youth, how much do we know of the inner life of torment of the young person? Some of you may have read about the young boy of fourteen, in Rye, New York, who killed his mother and sister with a shotgun while the father and another son fled. It is now said that he was “worried about his school-work.” What curious explanations we grown-ups have for children’s behavior, projecting our grown-up concern into the child’s mind. Actually, this boy’s family was supposed to be a happy family

that did everything together, and he was considered a "model boy." Yet I wonder how much this family knew about the inner life of this boy? I wonder how much many of us, as parents or teachers, know about the inner life or our young adolescents? Our American cult of youth is mostly a feeling for the surface glamour and vitality of youth, for the chance it offers to build a career, to make the quick success. It does not stress or seek to understand the tormented inner world of the adolescent, full of shadows—a fantasy world which the youngster peoples—and can also "de-people." Like many other youngsters this boy may have been trying to catch attention by what he did, trying to get recognition for the things in his personality that he did not understand because he had not found his sense of identity.

We have need, I say again, of an angle of vision that will include the sense of suffering, and the understanding of torment, and the reverence for old age, and the capacity to face death—yes, and the feeling for tragedy. Perhaps we have so little feeling for the tragedy of individuals because it has not occurred to us that tragedy can happen to us as a nation. We have never been beaten in a war, or in an economic or technological race with another people. We have had the career of success. We have not been through the dying and being reborn that some of the older cultures have been through. And because we have not, I tremble for the moment in the future when we may have to face a tragic era. Given the picture that some of our civilian defense people draw, of civilization in the cellar for months at a time, to shield itself from radiation perils; of having to emerge from the cellar to rebuild the ravaged economic plant and rebuild some sense of things as they were—I tremble, I say, for the capacity of a people that has never encompassed tragedy to grapple with that kind of future.

One thing more I want to stress—the willingness to fight unashamedly for the things you believe in. There used to be a time when I felt a little flustered at being called a "do-gooder" or "bleeding heart." But what is wrong with human fellow-feeling that we need be ashamed of? If there is a child hurt somewhere, my child is hurt. If somewhere someone is being Jim Crowed, I am being Jim Crowed. If somewhere someone is dying of leukemia

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Yet, when it comes to youth, how much do we know of the inner life of torment of the young person? Some of you may have read about the young boy of fourteen, in Rye, New York, who killed his mother and sister with a shotgun while the father and another son fled. It is now said that he was "worried about his school-work." What curious explanations we grown-ups have for children's behavior, projecting our grown-up concern into the child's mind. Actually, this boy's family was supposed to be a happy family

that did everything together, and he was considered a "model boy." Yet I wonder how much this family knew about the inner life of this boy? I wonder how much many of us, as parents or teachers, know about the inner life of our young adolescents? Our American cult of youth is mostly a feeling for the surface glamour and vitality of youth, for the chance it offers to build a career, to make the quick success. It does not stress or seek to understand the tormented inner world of the adolescent, full of shadows—a fantasy world which the youngster peoples—and can also "de-people." Like many other youngsters this boy may have been trying to catch attention by what he did, trying to get recognition for the things in his personality that he did not understand because he had not found his sense of identity.

We have need, I say again, of an angle of vision that will include the sense of suffering, and the understanding of torment, and the reverence for old age, and the capacity to face death—yes, and the feeling for tragedy. Perhaps we have so little feeling for the tragedy of individuals because it has not occurred to us that tragedy can happen to us as a nation. We have never been beaten in a war, or in an economic or technological race with another people. We have had the career of success. We have not been through the dying and being reborn that some of the older cultures have been through. And because we have not, I tremble for the moment in the future when we may have to face a tragic era. Given the picture that some of our civilian defense people draw, of civilization in the cellar for months at a time, to shield itself from radiation perils; of having to emerge from the cellar to rebuild the ravaged economic plant and rebuild some sense of things as they were—I tremble, I say, for the capacity of a people that has never encompassed tragedy to grapple with that kind of future.

One thing more I want to stress—the willingness to fight unashamedly for the things you believe in. There used to be a time when I felt a little flustered at being called a "do-gooder" or "bleeding heart." But what is wrong with human fellow-feeling that we need be ashamed of? If there is a child hurt somewhere, my child is hurt. If somewhere someone is being Jim Crowed, I am being Jim Crowed. If somewhere someone is dying of leukemia

through radiation exposure, there is something in all of us dying of leukemia. This is the human connection which is at the center of the whole human enterprise. We need not only a sensitivity to what other people are feeling and suffering, and the plight that they are in. We need also a journey into the interior deep within ourselves, where we can take stock of the values in which we believe and to which we are committed. We need a resurgence of a grand and noble anger, and the compassion out of which anger wells. We need a sense of tragedy and a sense of humor. We need the capacity to say that we too fought at Agincourt—that we were there, that we held aloft the banner and were willing to risk because we believed in the things for which we took risks.

Let me add that it is not too late for this kind of stock-taking, to make this journey into the interior. It is not too late for Americans to bring the human personality back into the center of their concern, to make it a subject and not an object. If we can do this, then the words Emerson used a long time ago (this is very different from my earlier quotation from him) may yet apply. "We think" he said, "our civilization is near its meridian. But we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star." We have the potentials in America that can put our civilization only at the cockcrowing and the morning star.

Desegregation and Integration

by OTTO KLINEBERG

ONE ASPECT OF THE Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, has not received quite so much attention as it might have, particularly from those of us who are identified with the social sciences, and the sciences dealing with social welfare. That aspect is the fact that, in a sense, this Supreme Court decision represents the greatest tribute to psychology and the related social sciences that any group of people in a position of authority have ever given. Chief Justice Warren, when he cited the reasons for the Supreme Court decision, mentioned the developments in psychology as justifying that decision at least in part. He said "psychology" but he might as well have said the social sciences in general, the sciences dealing with human relations. In referring to an earlier decision which held that separate but equal accommodations for Negroes and white people were justified and were in line with the Constitution, the Chief Justice said that that decision was arrived at when psychology was less well developed, and that the increased knowledge in psychology since 1896 justified a different point of view and a new decision. This is, I repeat, perhaps the greatest tribute that we "intellectuals" have ever received.

With the tribute, however, there comes a certain additional responsibility. Some of those who have opposed the decision have criticized it precisely on these grounds, namely, that it is a decision apparently based not on law, but on social science. The fact that it is based partially, at least, on social science, and on recent developments in social science, leads us first to ask what are these developments which the Supreme Court took into consideration.

The Chief Justice made frequent reference to the content of a social science statement which was submitted to the Supreme Court

as an annex to the legal brief presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and which was based in part on the testimony of social scientists who had been called in as consultants in the cases as they were heard in the lower courts. In speaking of this statement, attention was drawn to two major developments in the social sciences. The first was the fact that the overwhelming consensus among social scientists was against the notion that any differences in the behavior or in the achievement, in school or elsewhere, of Negroes and whites could be attributed to inborn psychological differences. The position taken by the social scientists represented in this statement was to the effect that there had never been any scientifically acceptable demonstration of inborn psychological differences among the races of man, and that therefore no separation of the races based on the notion of fundamental inequalities in inborn capacity was justified in the light of present knowledge.

The second direction taken by this social science statement was to the effect that segregation—not segregation alone but the whole complex of discriminatory practices to which the Negro is subjected, and particularly to which the Negro child is subjected as he grows up in a relatively hostile environment—that this whole complex of factors frequently produced severe personality damage in the Negro child. This does not mean that every Negro child is so damaged. It does mean there is a greater likelihood that anxieties will develop, that frustrations will be experienced, that there will be feelings of insecurity, and lack of motivation to do well in school in order to prepare for what must at best seem an uncertain future. Perhaps saddest of all, but demonstrated by a number of investigations, there is found in many Negro children what sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists have called by the tragic name “self-hatred”—a feeling of regret and even shame at being a Negro, a difficulty in accepting one’s skin color as an accident of birth which has no badge of inferiority attached to it.

This shame, this self-hatred which was revealed in many studies, though not in all children, was also referred to in this statement, and received further emphasis by Chief Justice Warren when he explained why the Supreme Court unanimously adopted a position

different from the old "separate but equal" doctrine. In other words, the Chief Justice accepted the position of the social scientist that there could not be "separate but equal" accommodations, "separate but equal" schools, because the separation, if forced upon one group, indicates inequality by calling attention to the alleged inferiority of one group as compared with another.

I spoke of an added responsibility. If we had something to do with this decision, can we follow it up? If we aided in bringing about this movement toward a momentous change in human relations in our country, can we make any contribution to the realization of this change, to the implementation of this decision? Can we help clarify the problems which require solution? Can we make any suggestions for action? Surely it is not necessary for me to say that I have no complete answers and no satisfactory solutions. I do have a few suggestions, however, and I present them without dogmatism; they seem to me to be directions in which we might look together for help in solving a tremendously important problem.

The first major problem which has arisen since the desegregation decision, one which has aroused a great deal of comment and concern, is the established fact that in the United States there is a Negro educational retardation—a retardation which has been variously estimated as half a year in some communities, one year in others, two years and even more in still others. There has been worry expressed regarding the possible lowering of standards of achievement in the newly integrated schools as a result of the introduction into white schools of retarded Negro children. Of course, there are Negro children who do as well in school as any white children, and there are white children who do as poorly as any Negro children. The range of achievement and the range of intelligence quotients seem almost certainly to be the same in both racial groups. The average is, however, lower for the Negro when we take the country as a whole, although, again, the overwhelming consensus among social scientists is against the theory that this difference is due to innate factors.

Apparently, most people seem now to accept that position, at least theoretically. A public opinion study conducted by the Na-

tional Opinion Research Center in 1956 showed that nearly 80 percent of those approached in the North, and about 60 percent of the respondents in the South, agreed that Negroes given the same opportunities and the same chances to learn and to develop would reach an intellectual level equal to that of white groups.

I was one of those called in by the NAACP to testify in one of the cases heard in the lower courts, in Wilmington, Delaware, as a preparation for the appeal to the Supreme Court from which, as you know, the famous decision of May 17, 1954, emerged. I was asked to give my views concerning the position of social scientists with regard to the notion that Negroes are fundamentally and innately inferior to whites. I gave my reasons for not accepting that view, and for believing that I was expressing the opinion of the overwhelming majority of social scientists when I said that there was no scientifically acceptable indication of the innate inferiority of either group as compared with the other. When I finished, and after the lawyer for the NAACP had asked me a few further questions, the judge asked the attorney for the state of Delaware whether he had any questions to put to me. The response was, "No questions." I am not very much of a lawyer, but I know that if testimony is allowed to go unchallenged in the lower court, it will proceed all the way up to the Supreme Court as testimony which presumably is accepted by both sides. Later we asked the attorney why he did not challenge my testimony; he said he did not feel that he could argue about it, since this was the position of the social scientists, of experts presumably.

In the recently published statement issued by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, it is reiterated that one of the most important stumbling blocks in integration is the persistence of this notion that Negroes are inferior. It does seem, however, that the majority of Americans are now prepared to accept the position which social scientists have long since held. Several years ago Gunnar Myrdal pointed out that there was no area in which there was a greater gap between the position of the social scientists and that of the mass of Americans than in regard to the problem of race difference. He called for an educational offensive to close the gap.

To some extent that gap has been closed. It was reopened most recently in a report by Professor McGurk of Villanova College. His position, which received wide publicity, particularly in the South, held that even when opportunities are equated for Negroes and whites, substantial differences in achievement still remain. McGurk's material, however, has not led the rest of us in the field of social science to change our minds on the fundamental position which I have already described.

Among the kinds of evidence which seem to be most important in substantiating our position, one of the significant studies was conducted in Philadelphia by Professor Lee, of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Lee was able to obtain intelligence tests records of Negro school children, born in the South, who at the time of his study were attending public schools in Philadelphia. By studying their scores year by year, he was able to demonstrate a clear and definite rise in these scores, proportional to the number of years they had lived in the relatively superior educational environment of Philadelphia.

My favorite example of an investigation of this nature was conducted among American Indians. The American Indians, as you may know, obtain on the average the lowest intelligence quotients of all the ethnic groups studied in the United States, definitely lower than those obtained by Negroes. Of course, the American Indian, with his different cultural background, should not be expected to do so well on the Binet or the National Intelligence Test. There was, however, one group, the Osage Indians, who instead of obtaining, as most Indian groups did, an I.Q. averaging around 80, performed quite exceptionally; the average I.Q. of this group of Indians, studied by Professor Rohrer, then of the University of Oklahoma, was a little above 100, that is to say, a little above the norm for the total population of the United States. The only thing which distinguished the Osage Indians from all the other Indians was that after they had been given land for a reservation in Oklahoma, oil was discovered there. Since land could not be taken away from them at that point, they kept it. They did not all become millionaires, because there were too many among whom the royalties from the oil had to be divided, but they

were able to raise their standard of living considerably. They built better homes and better schools, they paid their teachers better, they were able to travel and to have the opportunities for learning which most American Indians are never able to obtain—and their I.Q.'s went up a little higher than 100. I venture to suggest that perhaps what we need to do, in order to raise the I.Q.'s of other groups, including Negroes, to a level of 100 or better is merely to find oil on their land, or some reasonable facsimile thereof.

If there is no inborn inferiority of the Negro as compared with the white, how long will it take for the gap between Negroes and whites in average school achievement to be overcome. This is one of the most difficult questions to answer, and if I should give an answer which could be verified within the foreseeable future, in all probability it would be wrong. One school superintendent when asked this question said "in a matter of five to ten years"; another, in a different city, answered "not in my lifetime." That is an indication of the range of possible answers, although I should add that the second gentleman by his own admission was reasonably old, and himself said that his answer might therefore not mean too much. Actually, it is impossible to answer this question without a great deal more information regarding future developments outside the school system.

Inferiority of the average Negro in school compared with the average white is due to at least two major factors. One, of course, is the inferior education which Negro school children have received in the past, particularly in segregated school systems. The second important consideration—and this is often lost sight of—is the fact that in general the Negro is at a lower economic and social level than the average whites with whom he is compared. We have a tremendous amount of material in the field of differential psychology which indicates that the average I.Q.'s of children from the higher socioeconomic groups—for example, from the professional classes among the whites—are substantially superior to those of children of the working classes among the whites, altogether apart from any interracial comparisons. Since the Negro children come much more frequently from lower economic levels,

they have a double handicap to overcome. Even though they may overcome rather quickly the handicap which is due to the inferior, segregated schooling that they received in the past, who can predict how long it will take them to overcome the handicap caused by their lower socioeconomic level? This means that the whole problem of the position of the Negro in American society, and not just the problem of segregation and desegregation, will have to be kept in mind. That is why it seems to me impossible to predict how long it will be before the gap in school achievement is closed, and why any easy optimism is unjustified.

Of course there will be a rapid improvement. We already have evidence of this in a tremendously important study reported by Kenneth Clark which shows that graduates of segregated Negro high schools in the South who were chosen for their superior ability as compared with other students at the same schools, and who were given scholarships to Northern nonsegregated institutions, were able to hold their own and to compete very favorably indeed with the white students in those Northern colleges and universities. These students were of course not a cross section; they were the best, the brightest of the Negro youngsters in their schools. But they had come out of a poor school system, and for the most part they obtained marks on the college entrance examinations below what one would normally require for acceptance by these Northern institutions. Nevertheless, most of those who were accepted made the grade. Obviously, their low college entrance examination marks were by no means a fair indication of their ability but reflected, rather, their poor school environments. When they were placed in better schools, a substantial portion of the handicap was overcome.

I think we may predict, therefore, that there will be striking improvement soon, but a part of the gap will remain until we have been able to attack the whole issue of prejudice and discrimination, not just the one issue of school desegregation. So long as in this country it is a handicap to be a Negro—and that is true in the North as well as in the South, although in different degree—so long as the motivations of the Negroes and their feelings of anxiety and frustration are different from those of whites, and so long as

their socioeconomic level is below that of the average white, we shall have to expect a gap to persist, even though it will certainly be reduced.

One of the most important lessons we need to learn from an analysis of this whole issue is that we must see the problem of desegregation in its wider context. We must remember that desegregation of schools is not the only factor that we must keep in mind in preparing the way for complete Negro integration into our society. Northern Negro children also have personality problems, although they do not face legally sanctioned segregation. The research to which I referred earlier was carried out with Northern as well as with Southern Negro children, and they too showed anxieties and difficulties. Desegregation, therefore, does not mean complete and immediate integration into the American community. Therefore, the attack on all forms of prejudice and discrimination must be continued if we are to reach the goal or full utilization of the capacities of all individuals, Negro and white.

A second major issue relates to the state of public opinion with regard to desegregation, particularly in the South. In this connection we are often reminded that the prohibition amendment, even though it was the law, did not work out well because people just would not accept it. Similarly, it is said, other laws will be flaunted and flouted if they go counter to public opinion—and opinion is so against desegregation in the South that it will not be realized in the foreseeable future.

It is a fact that studies of opinion do indicate that in the South a relatively small proportion of respondents favor school desegregation. In some of the so-called "border" states, as well as in the deep South, the proportion of white respondents favoring school desegregation in a 1956 National Opinion Research Center poll was only 14 percent—which is of course a small percentage and may seem reason enough for discouragement. On the other hand, the picture appears somewhat brighter if we keep the following facts in mind. First, throughout the country, North as well as South, with increased education the opposition to desegregation decreases. In every comparison made—and there are a great many—those with more education are less opposed to desegregation, that is, are

more willing to accept school integration, than those with less education. This, I think, gives us hope, particularly those of us who are educators by profession.

Second, the polls also show that younger people, both in the North and in the South, are less opposed to desegregation than are their elders. If we can project their views into the future, then those who are now coming along, those who will in a few years occupy positions of some importance, should be less opposed to desegregation than those now in the saddle. A third encouraging fact is that small though the figure of 14 percent may be, in 1942 when this series of public opinion studies was initiated by the National Opinion Research Center, now connected with the University of Chicago, only 2 percent of Southern white respondents were in favor of desegregation. The trend is clear and unmistakable: 2 percent in 1942; 14 percent in 1956. This is still a small proportion, but even in the South the movement is toward acceptance of the new phenomenon.

Still another aspect of public opinion studies should be kept in mind, and that is that there is good deal of evidence to indicate that people tend when answering questions to favor the status quo. Let us take as one example the results of two polls conducted in Germany, one when there was still the death penalty for murder and one after the Federal Republic of Germany had abolished capital punishment. The proportion approving the death penalty in 1948 was approximately 70 percent. In 1952, after the penalty had been abolished, when another representative sample was asked whether they would approve of capital punishment, the figure dropped to 55 percent. This does not mean that everybody favored the status quo, but it does mean there was a substantial change in that direction.

That is what we are also finding in connection with desegregation. In a study conducted in Washington, for example, before desegregation of the schools, Washingtonians were asked whether they would approve of such desegregation. The majority said *no*, they would not approve. After school integration had been introduced, a cross section was asked: "Do you think this has been working well? Do you approve?" A slight majority now answered either

that they approved or that they thought integration was working quite well. There was thus a substantial change which followed almost immediately the introduction of integrated classes into the Washington school, too quickly for this change to be due to desegregation itself. One gets the impression, therefore, that when change is introduced, many people who were formerly opposed will accept it without complaint. Other studies along the same lines have corroborated these findings.

This is important because it may mean that we need not be quite so worried as many people have been by public opinion reactions against the introduction of integration into the schools. I would say, indeed, that we have reason to feel optimistic that even in the deep South, in all probability, school desegregation will come in time, perhaps with relatively little opposition. I base this optimistic statement partly on the assumption that most Americans are law-abiding and that when changes are introduced under the sanction of law most Americans will accept them and will respect the decisions of the court; and partly on one other public opinion study which seems to me to be very significant. The American Institute of Public Opinion—the Gallup Poll—asked a representative sample of Southerners not whether they wanted desegregation, not whether they favored it, but whether they thought the day would come when there would be desegregation in transportation, in schools, in housing, and so on. Thirty-three percent said *no* that day will not come; 55 percent, a small majority of all the respondents, said definitely *yes*, that day will come. The remainder were undecided or gave no answer.

Thus the majority (the proportion is much larger in the North), whether they liked it or not, agreed that desegregation was coming. One gets the impression, undeniably, that even those who are fighting most violently against desegregation know they are fighting a losing battle.

A great deal of research proves another point, closely related to the acceptance of the status quo. For example, regular customers of a large New York department store were asked whether they would be willing to be served by Negro salesgirls, and a number of them said *no*. Now it so happened that the investigators watched

these same people come into the store over a period of time; it also so happened that the management, despite the fact that their clientele apparently was opposed to it, did employ Negro salesgirls. Now the very people who had said they would not be served by Negro salesclerks went right on shopping in this department store, and went to Negro salesgirls with the same readiness and the same frequency as they did to the white clerks. Here the introduction of what we might call a *fait accompli*, something which the management felt it was right to do and which it did in spite of apparent opposition, worked out successfully.

This raises the whole question of when we can introduce a *fait accompli*. In a sense, that is what is being done in part in the case of school desegregation in a number of communities. It may be, however, that this technique should be accompanied with a greater preparation of people for the change; not in the form of queries as to whether they are willing to accept the change, because the change is coming, but rather as a preparation for them to accept it in the best possible and most constructive manner.

We turn now to my third problem, which relates to what can be done, particularly by social workers, to facilitate and to hasten the desegregation process. It is probable that the single most effective technique here will be a continuation of the legal activities under the auspices and leadership of the NAACP. The successes that have been obtained through the courts have been spectacular, and undoubtedly these activities will continue. There will be resistance, including legal resistance, in many parts of the South, and the NAACP will continue to use the courts to change the folkways of the South in transportation, housing, and education. Little by little, success will come, I believe, to these efforts.

Another kind of leadership which has also obtained spectacular success in certain parts of the South is that represented by the Rev. Martin Luther King and inspired by the principles of Gandhi. There is still another kind of leadership, which the sociologists describe as "charismatic" and which I think could be very successful. A "charisma" is a kind of aura around a person; when we accept such a leader, we do so because of our faith and confidence in him. It might be possible to use some of that charis-

matic leadership in this connection, but the only person that I can think of in this country who might be able to exercise that kind of appeal is President Eisenhower. I have so far not seen any readiness on his part to take this kind of leadership in this situation; with all due respect to the President I would like to suggest that here is an opportunity to use constructively the charismatic leadership which he possesses for a large number of Americans.

There is also a great deal that can be done by social scientists, including social workers. Incidentally, when I say "including social workers" I am not using an empty, polite phrase. Some of you may not know that the original material which was sent to the Supreme Court and became the essence and the meat of the social science statement to which I have alluded was prepared by Dr. Kenneth Clark and financed by the American Jewish Committee under the auspices of the Fact-finding Committee of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. Here was a contribution in which social workers and social work played a very important, a very real part. At least to some degree, the activities of that committee, together with Dr. Clark's report, now published in his little book *Prejudice and Your Child*, did prepare the way for the important document which went to the Supreme Court.

Now let me briefly list a few procedures which I am suggesting to social workers and specialists in social welfare. I am not taking the additional liberty of telling you how these things should be done, but I wish to bring to your attention certain areas of activity, or areas of endeavor, which in my judgment would well repay a great deal of careful attention.

First among these procedures I would say that what is needed is further collection and wide dissemination, especially in the South, of facts concerning race differences and concerning prejudice, and especially concerning the illogical and irrational aspects of prejudice; the role of socioeconomic class in determining achievement; the effects of prejudice and discrimination on both Negroes and whites; and so forth. In other words, the facts which are now in the possession of social scientists should be in the possession of a larger mass of people.

May I cite as an example of these facts another one of my favor-

ite investigations? This one was conducted by Professor Hartley, of the College of the City of New York, who some years ago applied the "social-distance" technique to students in a number of institutions. First devised by Professor Bogardus, sociologist of the University of Southern California, this is a simple instrument in which a number of questions are put to the respondent regarding his "distance" from various ethnic groups. The greatest degree of social distance is expressed by the wish to keep them out of the country altogether; the smallest degree of distance, by acceptance of them as members of one's own family through marriage. Altogether, there were thirty-two ethnic groups that Hartley included in his questions—Swedes, Norwegians, British, French, Negroes, Jews, Turks, Chinese, and so on. But Hartley also introduced the names of three imaginary groups, the "non-such" groups. These were the Danerians, the Pirenians, and the Wallonians.

Believe it or not, although some students said they could not answer these questions because they did not know any Pirenians or Danerians, most respondents did not have that reluctance; they indicated where they would like to keep those blankety-blank Pirenians. A substantial degree of social distance was shown against them; they sounded foreign, and that was enough for many of these students. Also, strikingly enough, there was a high correlation or correspondence between the amount of social distance shown against the thirty-two real groups and the amount shown against the three imaginary ones: those who accepted real groups to varying degrees of intimacy also tended to accept the non-such groups, and those who rejected the real groups also rejected the non-such groups. This is just an example of the irrationality of racial and ethnic attitudes.

Second on my list is the need for wider publicity for successful examples of desegregation. This is required to counterbalance the more frequent publicity and greater space given to conflicts and difficulties. There are some honorable exceptions, but for the most part the newspapers have unduly played up Clinton, Tennessee, and have not sufficiently emphasized the examples of St. Louis and Louisville, the state of Oklahoma, and other places where there has been smooth and successful desegregation. I have no final

figures, but an estimate as of September, 1956, which is of course the beginning of the school year, was that close to half a million Negro school children had been integrated into the nation's schools and about 2.5 million white children. The figure is undoubtedly larger now, nor am I sure that even then the statistics were entirely correct. The most recent data can be obtained from the Southern Regional Council, with its headquarters in Atlanta. Whatever the actual figures, the amount of desegregation is *news*, and I submit that it is newsworthy news at least as much if not more so than the case of Clinton, Tennessee.

A third necessity is what I call a differential diagnosis of the successful and unsuccessful cases of desegregation. Such a diagnosis would be of help in any new communities about to embark on the process of desegregation. We need thorough community studies, since no two communities are entirely alike. Here I appeal particularly to specialists in community organization. The specialist in community organization has a special part to play in such an analysis, which of course should include the Negro community as well as the white, or the community with both its white and Negro components. Such an investigation should pay special attention to the manner in which those cities and communities which have successfully and smoothly desegregated have done so. How have they done it? Who took the responsibility? Who was called in for consultation? What was the network of communication in those successful cases? Specialists experienced in community organization might also ask themselves about community organization with regard to the phenomenon of successful desegregation.

Number four on my list is again directed to the specialist in community organization. He could help us all by paying special attention to the problem of the power-structure in a community, the leadership within a community. From whom do orders or instructions flow? To whom? Who are the effective leaders? Leaders are sometimes hard to identify, because it may depend on our definition of leadership; the person who is in a position of official or status leadership may not always be the most influential person. Recently, social research has tried to identify varieties of leaders and to separate at least two distinct kinds, one called the "in-

novators" and the other the "influentials." Who are the influentials in a community? They are not always the innovators. They are, however, the people who, when they take the initiative, are followed by others. The understanding of this network of leadership, sometimes formal, sometimes informal, which can probably be better reached by people with experience in community organization than by any other kind of social scientist, represents a great and important contribution which those connected with social welfare can make.

Number five on my list refers to activities of the group worker, with his special opportunity to further the better functioning of groups of various kinds—groups of teachers, of community officials, of parents, women's organizations, and so forth. Group decision may be followed by the kind of action which may lead to successful desegregation. Where the decision to desegregate has been taken, the group worker can perform an important service in helping the group implement that decision.

Number six on my list also concerns the group worker. The group worker will need to deal with the problems of intergroup relations in general. This I know many of them are already doing, but there will be occasion for more of that than ever because of increasing intergroup or interethnic or interracial activities of school children in extracurricular areas, such as playgrounds, swimming pools, athletics, 4-H clubs, settlement houses, and so on. I believe this to be of fundamental importance because so far desegregation has been largely limited to school work. The two racial groups are now going to school together in those places where desegregation has occurred, but otherwise they continue to exist side by side with relatively little contact or interrelationship. It seems to me, therefore, that the manner in which the group worker handles situations in which members of the two races do come together outside the school may play a vital part in determining whether desegregation is to be a success or a failure.

Number seven on my list is directed to the caseworker. The caseworker in newly desegregated communities will be faced with many problems of a new kind. He will have to be able—and this is not always easy—to separate the specifically racial from the

idiosyncratic or personal if he is to give adequate help to his clients. Fights between boys may be interracial, but they may involve a Negro and a white and still be interindividual. Feelings of discouragement or failure to get a job may be related to being a Negro or they may not be. The task of separating what is racial from what is not racial in individual cases will be a particularly important one in the years to come. The social worker will have to be informed about the whole range of facts and principles pertaining to interethnic relations, to possibilities of jobs and of other opportunities for ethnic groups, particularly for Negroes, and so on. He knows a great deal about this already; he will need to know more. Again may I point to the fact that in the report by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, psychiatrists and educators are urged to look to the caseworker who has had experience in interracial agencies in order to aid the educator in this important task. I merely echo the wish expressed by the Group.

Eighth and last, the social worker together with other social scientists will need to direct his attention more than ever to discrimination in all its forms, and help reduce prejudice in all its forms, through the various techniques which he and his colleagues in the other social sciences have acquired. This is certainly not a task for any one group of individuals alone. School desegregation is only one aspect of a complex and interrelated issue, and it would be sad indeed if we sat back once school desegregation had been accomplished—which it will be in time—with the feeling that this had solved the whole problem.

It should be kept in mind that the success with which we solve this problem is important not only nationally but internationally. Even if there were no "cold war" I would still feel that this was a problem that we needed to solve and to solve constructively. There is a striking contrast between what is going on in South Africa, with its stress on *apartheid*, and our own American movement toward desegregation and eventual integration. It is not surprising that South African newspapers play up perhaps more than the newspapers of any other country the difficulties which we have encountered in places like Clinton, Tennessee, and the University of Alabama, in an attempt to prove to their people that the American

way will not work, and that only their way will work. We have a chance to prove that our way, with its slow but unmistakable progress through legal, educational, and democratic procedures, will work. That result will hearten not only ourselves but the whole democratic world.

We who have a little knowledge of why people behave as they do, what influences them, why they accept or resist change, what conscious and unconscious motives stir them to action, have a special responsibility. We still have a lot to learn, but we have learned something. We must show ourselves deserving of the compliment paid to us by the Supreme Court. We who are concerned with social welfare have no more important task, it seems to me, than that of using whatever talents we possess and whatever techniques we have learned, to help extend the democratic process and democratic opportunities to include all the citizens of our country.

The Changing American Family

by REUBEN HILL

MANY ASSUME EXPERTNESS in diagnosing the American family's ills—and their approach usually begins, "What's wrong with the family?" They point to the high divorce rate, to the changes in our sex morality, to juvenile delinquency, and, until recently, to the declining birth rate as proofs of the breakdown of the family. My approach is that of a family sociologist who has been greatly impressed by the universality of the family as an institution in all countries and in all times, and by its great capacity for adaptation and survival. From this vantage point I find it easy to agree with the social scientists who assert that the American family is experiencing nothing more serious than growing pains, normal symptoms of reorganization following adjustments to a new and baffling industrial urban society.

My sources for this discussion are several research studies completed in recent years by social scientists covering several thousand families, and the findings of the censuses and sample surveys of the Bureau of the Census which cover the country as a whole.

In quick preview I hope to answer three major questions:

1. What long-term and what short-term changes are occurring in marriage and family patterns in America?
2. Is the family any less important to American society today than formerly?
3. What are some implications for social welfare of these changes in family patterns?

It may be helpful to begin with, to distinguish between long-term trends and short-term changes. A number of changes in the family tend to be tied to the highly interrelated phenomena of industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and democratiza-

tion. These we term "long-run trends" since they have been more or less continuous since well before the Civil War. Another set of changes we shall call "short-term changes" because they tend to be relatively temporary fluctuations around a long-term trend line and flow from the vacillations of the country's economy and polity best seen in the cycles of depression and prosperity, of inflation and deflation, and hot wars and cold wars.

A number of long-term trends beg our attention: changed ways of making a living, decreased self-sufficiency of families, smaller households, increased mobility of families, changed authority patterns, and changed age and sex roles within the family, to mention only a few.

From 1890 to 1950 the proportion of American families subsisting from farming changed from 64 percent to 17 percent. With this changed mode of making a living, the authoritarian, economically integrated, self-sufficient form of family, which for centuries had been functionally adapted to rural living, has become obsolete. As the family ceased to be a producer of goods and services, the need for an authoritarian foreman in the family disappeared. But as the family ceased to make its own living, and the father left the home to earn money to buy the goods the family once produced, the self-sufficiency of the family also disappeared. The rugged familism which extended the frontier and gave the tenor of individualism to America has disappeared except as it is still found in isolated rural and mountain areas.

The family became dependent on the availability of jobs, on continued prosperity, and on the productivity of the wage earner. Where the fathers' productivity was not great enough, mothers left the home to supplement the pay check. Children, once viewed as additional hands who soon could earn their keep, have become, in the industrial age, mouths to feed, bodies to clothe, and minds to educate—financial liabilities from birth on. Conservative estimates place the cost of rearing a child to age eighteen at \$20,000, and there is still his college education ahead of him.

In order to get ahead in the world, families have become mobile, migrating for added education, better jobs, and military service. Compared with other peoples of the world we are on wheels, one

family in five crossing county lines every year and parts of our urban centers experiencing complete turnover residually once a year.

In the course of these shifts in making a living, in self-sufficiency, and in movement the family has given up many functions: schooling, religious instruction, recreation, medical care, and job placement. But I find abundant proof that there is no repudiation of the basic business of families: reproduction, housing, and feeding and guiding children from infancy to adulthood. Indeed, the family is now more of a specialized agency concentrating on personality development of its members, providing warmth, love, and sanctuary from the anonymity of urban existence; services no other agency in society is prepared to offer.

Let us turn now to the examination of some short-run changes which have occurred in recent years. Family behavior has become increasingly subject to short-run fluctuations integrally related to the economic and political shifts in our highly interdependent type of society. Individuals are increasingly making their marital and reproductive decisions deliberately, taking into account their personal outlook of the moment as they view it. The result is often one of millions making the same kind of decision at the same time. Finding conditions bad, as people did during the depression of the thirties, for example, they postponed marriage or, if married, put off further childbearing. Hundreds of thousands of spinsters were created because the procrastinating men, when they did marry, turned to a younger age group for their brides. Later, finding conditions good, young people who might have waited decided to marry, or if married to have children, and the marriage rates and birth rates responded violently.

Marriage rates were so affected by the prosperity of the past decade that a greater increase in the proportion of the married population occurred than in the previous half century. Among men from twenty to twenty-four years of age the proportion married nearly doubled in 1940-55, from 27 percent to 51 percent. Among women the number of teen-age marriages also increased sharply from 9 percent to 17 percent married in the same period. Marriage in America during the war and postwar years has been a

marathon, only divorce among the vital statistics being more volatile.

Divorce has been subject both to long-term and short-term changes. As a long-term trend it has been on the increase since the first census in 1870. As a short-term phenomenon, the divorce rate follows closely on the marriage rate, which in turn reflects so closely the fluctuations of the business cycle. A cynic once said the basic cause of divorce is marriage. It is true that when marriage rates are low, so is the divorce rate, and when marriage increases so does divorce; for most divorces occur in the early years of marriage. Henry Bowman has used the analogy of a great throng of people on an open drawbridge: as more crowd to get on, others fall off the open end into the water below.

Divorce reached a high of one divorce for every two and a half marriages in 1946 and has since declined to one in five marriages in line with the decline in the marriage rate over the same period. Most vulnerable to divorce during this period have been veterans, grammar-school-educated, and low-income groups. Not only are grammar-school-educated persons more likely to divorce (at twice the rate of those of college education), but they divorce on the average nine years earlier than do college people who divorce.

A corollary trend which is noteworthy is the high rate of remarriage of the divorced, 75 percent of whom marry again within five years, and 87 percent of whom eventually remarry. We are, in effect, operating a type of trial marriage system in this country in which the first marriage breaks in and domesticates the parties, and the second marriage reaps the benefits.¹ The remarriage rate is good evidence that the high rate of divorce in our society constitutes no repudiation of marriedness as a status. Marriedness as a status has never been more popular: 70 percent of the population in the marrying ages, fourteen to ninety, were married in 1954; 18 percent were single and will eventually marry; 8 percent were widowed; 3 percent separated; and only 2 percent were in the divorced status.

A British social scientist commented to me on these statistics:

¹ A highly readable serious study of second and third marriages of the divorced and widowed is Jessie Bernard's *Remarriage* (New York: Dryden Press, 1956).

"You Americans talk a lot about divorce, but in Europe we worry about the fact that people don't bother to marry. Over 90 percent eventually marry in America, but only 70 percent in Sweden and Switzerland, and fewer yet in Ireland, and the median age at marriage is almost ten years later than in America." Americans have indeed been very legal in their channeling of the sex drive in wedlock. They have had low rates of illegal cohabitation, concubinage is unheard of, and common law unions are rare. Yet we have the highest rate of turnover of married partners of any civilized society. Paul Landis has called our form of marriage "serial polygyny." You may wish to reverse it and call it "brittle monogamy."

Another trend which, like divorce, looks different when viewed as a long-term than when viewed as a short-run phenomenon is the size of completed families. Since frontier days the size of households has been shrinking steadily. In 1700 there were 7.4 children born to the average mother 45 years of age and over. By 1910 this had dropped to 4.7; by 1940, to 2.9; and by 1950, to 2.5 children.

A reversal of this long-term trend may be in the making as a consequence of the prolongation of the baby boom of the 1940s and 1950s. When a boom continues beyond ten years it begins to look like a trend. The increase in the birth rate was a direct result of the marathon in marriages of the war and postwar years beginning first with many more first babies, later with more second and third babies, and now with fourth and fifth babies. Since 1950 the number of first babies has declined sharply just as the marriage rate has, both examples of short-run changes, but the number of second babies has held up quite steadily and third and fourth babies continue to increase. Comparing 1940-41 with 1954-55, the birth rate of third and fourth babies is up 70 percent. One evidence that the higher birth rates of the last fifteen years will ultimately affect completed family size is found in the studies of the performance of college graduating classes. The graduating classes of the 1940s have already surpassed the classes of the 1920s and the early 1930s in numbers of children produced. It is rather exciting to see a long-term trend change directions even if it turns out to be leveling off at medium-sized rather than small-sized families.

Closely related to the trend with respect to numbers is the pattern of spacing children which has undergone some changes with the mastery of birth control. There is now a tendency to bunch all the children one has in the early years of the marriage, completing childbearing in the late twenties and early thirties. Coupled with an earlier age at marriage, which for men has dropped in sixty years from 26.1 to 22.6 and for women from 22.0 to 20.4, husband and wife thus have a much longer period of companionship than their parents enjoyed. With her children in school by the time she is in her early thirties, the wife is freer to reenter the labor force. There has been a 77 percent increase in married women aged 35-44 in the labor force in the last decade.

Needless to say, this shortening of the period in which the husband must be the sole breadwinner makes marriage less of a financial commitment for him and brings to the relation a more companionate quality. The traditional sentiment that a husband must support his wife as her father did has now attenuated in nearly all strata of our society in favor of a desire by wives to share in their husbands' upward financial struggles.

As a consequence of the many changes I have cited of making a living, and the changed emphasis on services performed in the family, relationships between husband and wife and between children and parents have altered sharply in the locus of power, and the division of duties and responsibilities in the family. Wives and children are becoming economic partners in spending as well as earning the family income. The family is becoming democratized in the process.

Participation by the wife in family decision-making extends beyond financial matters and is concurrently being strengthened positively by her higher education, wider contacts outside the home, exercise of responsibility in civic associations, by her activities in professional organizations such as are federated under the National Conference on Social Welfare, and by explicit encouragement by experts. Male pretensions to superior authority are widely ridiculed in contemporary comedy, cartoons, children's literature, and other popular forms of expression. Moreover, when family decision-making is viewed as a symbol of power the superiority of

shared power in creating and maintaining warmth and affection becomes evident. It is easier to love a reasonable, companionable man, and harder to love an authoritarian husband and father to-day.

Equally striking in the blurring of sex lines are the changes in division of tasks and responsibilities in the home. Here the middle classes lead the way, according to a recent study by Marvin Olsen, of the University of Oregon, covering hundreds of families at various educational and occupational status levels. He asked who carried primary responsibility for each of a hundred homely tasks that must be performed to keep a family going. His findings may be stated briefly:

1. The middle classes have gone farthest in bringing the husband into taking responsibility for family tasks, and also designate more tasks as the joint responsibility of husband and wife.

2. The lower classes placed more of the burdens on the mother and the children, while the upper classes were the only group to turn to outside help for any substantial proportion of family jobs.

3. For all classes, to be sure, the majority pattern is for the wife to assume responsibility for the greatest number of tasks (40 percent-50 percent). Second most popular pattern is that of joint responsibility (25 percent-28 percent); third in line is the husband assuming chief responsibility for 20 percent-23 percent of tasks, followed by children with 6 percent-10 percent, and outside help 1 percent-14 percent of tasks.

4. Joint responsibility was the majority pattern for certain types of tasks involving especially control and decision-making, such as disciplining children, training in manners, supervising school work, deciding when to buy a new car, planning the budget, and so on.

There remain today only two or three tasks securely monopolized by one sex: childbearing and sewing by the wife, and the most arduous physical maintenance chores by the husband. Painting, repairing, fueling, and car-washing, are increasingly taken on by the wife, sometimes alone, often with the husband. Her dress on these occasions will be manlike work clothes, and her language will also often be as appropriate to the task.

The same crossing of ancient boundaries by husbands is also fast becoming commonplace. Diaper-changing, dishwashing, cooking, house cleaning, laundering, and shopping are duties shared with the wife, especially if she is gainfully employed, and the husband has learned to wear an apron—a butcher's apron, but an apron. Such sharing fluctuates, rotates, and changes unevenly, frequently provoking conflict, but the net effect is greater companionship between husband and wife and more freedom for later leisure-time pursuits together. Indeed, it appears probable that the urban husband spends more hours per week in the company of his wife today than in any decade since factories removed manufacturing of goods from the home. Recreation and social activities now integrate the sexes.

What do these trends add up to? Increasing specialization by the family in services performed for its members, increased emphasis on quality of performance, shift in emphasis from production of goods to interest in personality development, and high interest in companionship in marriage and in parent-child relations. Perhaps Nelson Foote's term, "The professionalization of marital and family roles," best describes what is taking place.

Marriage is increasingly viewed as a joint career for which preparation can provide the skills and insights to achieve success. The rise of college and high school courses in preparation for marriage and parenthood and the development of counseling services affirm this interest on the part of young people in getting professional training for the tasks of marriage. Indeed, planning for parenthood today actually goes beyond planning for the control of conception; it includes seeking to understand children in general, and one's own children in particular, to make possible the maximum development of their personalities. Parents have learned that in the contemporary world a parent is far better advised to endow his child with competence in interpersonal relations than to leave him with "a competence" in the old sense of the word. In a way, we can say we are living participants in the professionalization of marital and parental roles, a trend of vast significance for personality development and mental health.

With this background in the vast changes that have occurred in

the American family, how should we answer my second question: Is the family any less important to American society than formerly?

It must be granted that the family is not the giant in numbers and functions that it was a century ago. We no longer count as members of our families our kin out to third cousins on either side, and often forget both sets of grandparents and any great-grandparents when we reckon our family size. The modern family, shorn of kinship attachments and bearing fewer children, is smaller and less of an all-purpose organization—but it is no less important.

Marriages today are perhaps intrinsically less stable, but they are greatly improved in quality of performance and interpersonal relations, and are more stimulating climates in which to rear children. In addition, the modern family has the virtue of fitting well the demands of our democratic and urban industrial society, something that would have been impossible to the larger, rooted, and authoritarian family of the past century.

Since it is smaller, it is more mobile, moving where opportunities are to be found. The small family fits the occupational structure better, relying as it does for achievement on the job over kinship preference for getting ahead in the job world. Thus small, nuclear families appear to be ideally adapted to the different degrees of social movement required by our open, competitive type of class society—both horizontally in geographical space and vertically in climbing the occupational ladder.

The modern family is fully as needed today as formerly since in specializing its functions it has no serious competitors among the other agencies in our society for the performance of these services. We depend exclusively on the family for the performance of the vital functions of reproduction, infant care, socialization, and guidance without which our society would disintegrate.

What are some implications for social welfare of these changes in family patterns? Let me turn first to two specific changes in family patterns which require our attention.

The high mobility of young families results in feelings of loneliness as they move into new communities or join the stream mov-

ing out of the central city into the suburbs. Separated from kin and hometown neighbors, to whom do they turn when they need counsel and help? How do they become integrated into a new neighborhood or community? The challenge for social welfare is to develop institutions less commercial than the "Welcome Wagon" and more neighborhood-oriented. We need community organization and neighborhood development activities in this direction, such as Milwaukee supported for a time. We need to institutionalize the status of newcomers and utilize it to provide orientation and welcoming activities into neighborhood and community.

The high rate of divorce and remarriage suggests the need for attention from social welfare in inventing ways of easing postdivorce adjustment and facilitating successful remarriages. We are better prepared to deal with bereavement of widows and widowers than we are with the adjustments of the divorced. For example, there are no ethical imperatives for relatives or friends that would make them feel constrained to furnish material or emotional support, during or after the divorce, to the divorced. There is no clear definition of responsibility for readmitting divorce participants into their former statuses as members of the parental family. Pathways to new male or female friendships and remarriage are poorly charted, and there is a distinct ambiguity concerning the proper behavior of the spouses after the divorce. Do they remain forever distant and alienated, or do they reestablish friendship for the children's sake? Surely social welfare has a contribution to make in clarifying these ambiguities.

There is still another dimension to which we can move in social welfare, the dimension of recommending national and local policies for family well-being. The United States is one of the few civilized countries which has not yet formulated an explicit family policy on which a coherent program for families could be built. From the formulation of the Constitution and since, family life appears to have been viewed as beyond the powers of the Federal arm of government—having apparently few interstate ramifications. Consequent to the denial to the Federal Government of powers related to the family we have forty-eight states with con-

flicting laws controlling marriage, divorce, responsibility of parents to children, and so on.

It took years of depression to bring to legislators the recognition that family self-sufficiency was no longer feasible in an industrial economy, and that no family can be held entirely responsible for its own destiny. The various extensions of the Social Security Act are important steps toward expanding the role of government in shoring up family resources, but this is but the beginning of a national policy for family life. It seems not incorrect to suggest that the principles of *laissez faire* have been applied to the relation of government and families with considerably more success than is true in the case of government and business. No pressure group has yet made of government a positive instrument for the benefit of family life. A family policy for America would include not only general goals but specific means appropriate for their realization; I commend such a study for the National Conference on Social Welfare.

In conclusion, may I share with you selected recommendations for action which Dr. Emily H. Mudd, Director of the Marriage Council of Philadelphia, and I obtained a year ago in an idea-getting survey of sixteen selected practitioners from the major disciplines influencing family life in the United States. They are embodied in a memorandum prepared for Commissioner Charles Schottland, of the Social Security Administration, at his initiative and with his active collaboration:

1. The recommendations begin with a proposal for education for family life at every stage of human development timed at critical points of maximum readiness when members are most teachable:

- a) It is felt that education has the virtue of intervening before trouble strikes, that it is preventive, and helps families help themselves. Moreover, education can be carried out in a variety of settings by social workers, marriage counselors, and writers as well as teachers.

2. A second recommendation on which there was high consensus among members of our interview panel involves ways of intervening to improve family life through the courts and legal agencies of government:

- a) Uniform marriage and divorce laws and laws which would prevent hasty marriages and impulsive divorces are urged.

b) Enabling legislation empowering domestic relations courts to provide counseling services are also recommended.

3. Guidance and remedial measures are recommended although there was a noticeable reluctance to make them the primary emphasis in future program planning:

a) Marriage counseling and mental health clinics are recommended for every community, possibly in the neighborhood high school where everyone would feel free to come.

4. A fourth cluster of recommendations appears novel indeed and refers to the need to build the morale of family members engaged in the significant task of rearing the nation's children:

a) Family morale might be strengthened with a government department which protects family interests as the interests of labor, commerce, and agriculture are already protected—particularly against the stresses which emanate from government policies affecting inflation, unemployment, selective service, and war.

b) A White House Conference on Family Life to lay the groundwork for a national policy for families would surely have the effect of improving family morale in the United States.

5. A final suggestion involves programs of training and refresher work with the family-serving agencies of the country to consider ways of relating themselves to families to facilitate their development rather than to defeat them. If families are to be strengthened rather than weakened as a consequence of contact with helping agencies what principles might guide workers?

a) Workers will do best who permit high participation by families in setting the goals and determining the outcome of service by involvement of all family members on a group basis.

b) Workers and family members are optimally engaged if they are dedicated to bring about full family development rather than the restoration of any preconceived status quo.

c) To reach this high goal workers should actively seek to make available their professional insights and secrets to family members in the interest of leaving parents and children better able to cope with the task of becoming an adequate and effective family.

These proposals may seem ambitious to some, but they are merely suggestive of the helps which the agencies federated under the National Conference on Social Welfare can offer for improving the performance of American families. I see the family, with these aids, surviving even the amazing technological developments now being forecast for the atomic age, and surviving the impact of urbanization, of social mobility, of wars and economic depressions,

with a minimum of scars and a maximum of vitality. I see great possibilities in the family of tomorrow as an improved medium-sized family organization, geared to assure maximum self-expression of family members while maintaining integrity and inner loyalty to the whole. My optimism is predicated on the universality of the family phenomenon, on its survival powers in the past, on its present adaptability, and on the anticipated shape of things to come. This is family planning that looks to the future.

Social Work in the Political Arena

by the HON. GEORGE LEADER

OUR NATIONAL BUDGET is a big budget, calling for the expenditure of \$72 billion during the next fiscal year. But as President Eisenhower has pointed out, big budgets and high taxes are the price we have to pay for national security.

If we are to be strong enough to resist aggression, we must be willing to spend \$41 billion. If we are to wage the peace, we must spend \$4 billion more. And what we have left over—some \$27 billion—must go to meet the interest on the national debt; to help the farmer; to run the Weather Bureau; and otherwise to give Americans the vast array of services they need and want.

Usually, the battle of the budget is fought in the arena overlooking the Potomac; and although the war correspondents of press, radio, and television report each development thoroughly, the American people are not required to take an active part in the fracas. Why should things be any different this year? Why should it be necessary for the President to seek support at the grass-root level? The answer is, of course, that Congress—waving sharp, red pencils—is methodically slashing the budget to bits in the effort to cut from \$3 billion to \$9 billion from the total.

If there is that much fat in the budget, no one would be happier than I to see it removed. The trouble is, most of us fear that the operation involves radical surgery on bone, muscle, and sinew. Responsible politicians fight to eliminate waste. Irresponsible politicians slash away irresponsibly, less concerned with the patient's well-being than with the political compensation they hope to gain.

I am no expert on national defense and what it costs. But if those in position to know tell me that it will cost \$41 billion in 1958, my only question is, "Are you sure that's enough?"

When it comes to health, education, and welfare, I am on firmer ground. And I know that \$3.5 billion is less than the nation needs. I cannot help wondering why Congress, which blew hot for the social security amendments in 1956, is blowing colder than an Arctic wind in 1957.

In the face of record prosperity, of a \$400 billion gross national product, of a rapidly increasing population, it seems incredible that the epidemic of budget-cutting should have infected so many people. And all in the period of one short year!

In 1956, the Senate unanimously adopted an amendment to the Social Security Act which increased the appropriation for child welfare services from \$10 million to \$12 million. That is forgotten now. This year's appropriation is back to \$10 million.

In 1956 Congress authorized \$5 million for a research program in social security. It made a great deal of sense, just as medical research makes sense. Society does not yet know all the answers to social questions. We still need to learn more about why children become delinquent, for example, and why families break down. If we knew more, we could do more.

This year, the President and the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education asked for \$2 million—not \$5 million—for social security research. And Congress has deleted the amount completely.

This year, for the first time, the appropriation bill passed by the House sets a ceiling on the administrative costs of public assistance. Now, as you know, these costs are shared equally by the state and Federal governments. If you impose a limit on the Federal share, therefore, you throw the entire Federal-state partnership out of kilter. For you are completely disregarding the fact that administrative costs vary from state to state, and from time to time. They must vary, for those costs are related to the size of the public assistance program; and that program depends, in turn, on the number of people who need public assistance at any given moment. To me, a ceiling of this kind represents a false and dangerous economy.

To take a final example, the President and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare asked for \$2.5 million to increase

and improve the supply of professionally trained welfare personnel. Surely this is a small enough amount in view of the overwhelming need. Yet the Congressional scalpel excised it neatly from the budget.

This, mind you, is the same Congress we applauded last year for its enlightened approach to social security. While the budget-firsters are viewing the President's budget with alarm, a good many of us are viewing them with alarm and wondering what happened to their sense of perspective.

I cannot argue the cost of keeping this nation secure, and I regret the judgment of the experts. But I do not see how Congress can undervalue America's need for social security. As I see it, we are simply spending low-cost dollars for high-priority human values. And as Secretary Folsom put it, "We are making investments in human resources, and we are contributing to our expanding economy, our national security, our freedom itself."

We must consider our spending in terms of what we get in value, not what we ourselves have written on the price tag. What is the dollar-and-cents cost of a human mind salvaged from mental illness? What is the stock market quotation on a handicapped child's happy adjustment to society? What is the interest rate on a reunited family? And what kind of mortgage can you get on human dignity?

In any case, it was necessary for the President to go to the people for support for the budget, having failed to get the support he needed from the legislators. I sympathize with him sincerely. I sympathize because I know what he is going through. I am going through the same thing myself.

When Pennsylvania's budget for the next two years emerges from the untender hands of the State Legislature, the newspapers tell me, the appropriation for the Department of Welfare will have been cut \$30 million; the Department of Health, \$7 million; the Department of Public Assistance, \$3 million; the Department of Labor and Industry, \$1 million. These are the agencies of Pennsylvania's government most immediately concerned with social welfare. These are the departments victimized by the budget-firsters.

This always happens in state government, which spends the bulk of its revenues on health, welfare, and education. When a legis-

lature wants to cut the budget, this is where it begins—right where it can do the most damage to those who most need help.

Let me take one program—mental health—and show you how this reckless sort of budgeteering can sabotage it.

When this Administration took office Pennsylvania had a problem—not a program—in mental health and welfare. Our hospitals were outrageously overcrowded and understaffed. Our institutions for retarded children were in even worse condition, with thousands of children waiting for admission and application lists so long that ten- to twenty-year delays were common.

Something had to be done. But it was obvious that nothing would be done unless public opinion could be mobilized in support of a good program. We turned to the people and asked them to help.

Slowly, a small wave of support developed. It came from the leadership of organized labor, from clergymen, from civic groups, from private agencies, from educators and professional people. The wave grew larger, gaining speed and momentum, until suddenly it crested, and the people themselves became a part of it.

What was the result? Our mental health budget was increased by 28 percent, to \$193 million. Our Department of Welfare was given an additional \$48 million for the construction of new institutions and the renovation of old ones.

With that kind of backing, we could build a program—and we did.

We kicked partisan politics out of the system. We reorganized the Department of Mental Health from top to bottom, and appointed a distinguished psychiatrist as Mental Health Commissioner. We reclassified jobs. We hired as many trained people as we could get and upgraded salaries throughout. We set up civil service for the technical and professional people, by executive action. We began to recruit successfully in the mental health professions—surely one of the tightest labor markets in the world.

Last year Pennsylvania was one of the few states in the Union where the population of mental hospitals declined. But the job is only beginning. And now, just as the program is getting results, our state legislature is sabotaging it.

We have done our best to rally support, and a great many

people have responded. But last year's ground swell is this year's flat calm. In the spring of 1956 the Department of Welfare budget hearings were held in packed rooms. This spring the hearings did not attract three people who were not in government.

We have not quit fighting and we will not. But we are not fooling ourselves, either. We know we need help. We need lots of it. We need it badly. And we need it now. For unless the newspapers are wrong—and I doubt that they are—our mental health program, among other things, will be badly mauled.

There is only one way to cut the cost of a program like this, and that is by reducing the number of professional and technical people who implement it. If the goal is to be cure, not custody, there must be enough trained personnel to bring about the cures. Reduce them in number, spread them too thin, and suddenly we are again merely providing custody.

Certainly we cannot cut down on the cost per day of feeding, clothing, and housing a mental patient. And, unfortunately, mental illness does not decrease just because the legislature has decided to be penny-wise and humanity foolish.

The mental health program is like any other welfare program: a permanent "supply" cannot be stored, as though it were electricity in a storage battery. To continue the metaphor, it must be generated as we go along—or else the lights grow dim and eventually go out. No people in the United States know this better than social workers do. As experts in the field of social welfare, you know that any program must have continuity, must have steady pressure behind it, if it is to succeed. Knowing this, why do not social workers climb down from the ivory tower of political inaction and back important welfare programs? I am talking now about the individual social worker as a citizen in a democracy.

The answer may be that social workers and politicians take one another too lightly. If so, it is about time that we changed our attitudes and recognized that we are natural allies rather than natural enemies. For we share a common denominator—people. Politicians and social workers exist to serve people. But all too often they forget it, and think of one another as stereotyped images, as outright caricatures.

Too many politicians think that the social worker is an imprac-

tical, burning-eyed visionary—a “do-gooder” lacking in common sense, a person who may be safely dismissed as a political factor of no consequence. And too many social workers dismiss the politician as a bumbling amateur, ill-advisedly sticking his nose into the professional field of welfare; or as an individual whose ideals are at the service of political expediency; or as a cigar-smoking, glad-handing, vote-seeking opportunist who keeps a weather eye on the main chance.

Both images are dead wrong because both images are caricatures—and caricatures should never be confused with portraits. The truth of the matter is that politicians are good, bad, and indifferent—just as social workers are good, bad, and indifferent.

However we are, we must work together and make common cause of social welfare. For remember that social welfare is not the monopoly of the social worker. Men and women in labor, industry, public health, education, psychiatry, city planning, public housing, sociology, anthropology, the clergy, and politics are all working in this broad field.

And of those I have named, the politician is not the least important in the social worker's scheme of things. In 1955, for instance, the aggregate sum of public and private welfare spending, exclusive of what was spent on health and education, was estimated at \$19 billion. Approximately 80 percent came from government funds.

The voters of the community, state, and nation elect the people who run government. Government, very properly, seeks to do for people what people cannot do as well for themselves. I suggest that government should be able to depend on the social work profession for news of the social injustice that needs a remedy, the area of neglect that should be set straight, the group problem that needs an answer. For who knows as well as you the measures government should adopt in the name of common humanity?

If you plead that government turns a deaf ear, then I say that your voice is not loud enough. You need the politician; for it is through him that you can win popular support for the programs you want to carry out. And without popular support, no large-scale welfare effort can long survive. By the same token, he needs

you. He needs your viewpoint. He needs your backing when the going is tough.

Government is seldom left in doubt as to how the men and women of labor, agriculture, small business, education, and special interests feel on a particular issue of importance. This is good. These points of view are always of value to those of us in government; and let me also add that they frequently influence the laws we write and the programs we undertake.

But your profession, taken as the sum of the individuals who are in it, all too seldom makes itself heard.

Please do not think I am suggesting that your agencies and professional groups should barge full speed ahead onto the political scene. I do not mean that you should endorse one candidate or the other, one party or the other. I do suggest that the social worker—of all people—has the least justification for political lethargy as an individual.

As a group, for instance, social workers know how much America needs the \$3.5 billion in the Federal health, welfare, and education budget. But as individuals, how many of you have written or wired your Senators and Congressmen?

Pennsylvania's social agencies know how badly the Commonwealth needs strength and continuity in its welfare programs. And a handful of the leaders in those agencies have helped our Administration in its effort to keep our programs strong and continuous. But how many of this state's social workers, in their capacity as citizens, have informed their legislators of how they feel? Too few, I fear. Perhaps if we had had more of them our welfare programs would not be in their present danger.

Suppose that the danger cannot be averted, that the worst happens, and the budget-firsters have their way? Do not expect that the mourning bench will be reserved with a sign reading "Social Workers Only." A great many politicians—myself among them—will be crowding you for seats.

Yet our common disappointment will not be the important thing. The important thing will be the tragedy of the parents with the delinquent child; the family with the mentally ill father; the mother who receives less help on which to raise her dependent

children. These are the tragic people. These are the human beings who must suffer for what might have been prevented. These are the voiceless, unless you speak for them. These are the leaderless, unless you lead them. These are your constituents, so long as you choose to spend your lives in helping them.

Perhaps you have been expecting me to discuss such subjects as the state's role at the community level, or new approaches to the problems of juvenile delinquency. These are frontiers, of course, and important ones, but I have confined myself to a subject that seems to me to constitute the most promising frontier that social work faces: the frontier of individual action as citizens. Cross this one, and your other frontiers will expand rapidly. For much of the trail has already been blazed, and the challenge to you professionally is largely a matter of doing a more thorough job with better techniques and newer tools.

There is only one thing I wonder about: are you still as militant as you used to be?

The sweatshop is no more; seven-year-olds no longer work in coal mines; Americans do not starve between the bread line and the dole. The work of Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelly, Jane Addams, and Harry Hopkins has been done, and done well. Yet we still have dragons to slay in this rich and pleasant land, the dragons which menace human dignity. Until they have been slain, America will have denied her heritage of brotherhood and the promise of her abundance. Until human dignity has been established as the right of every one of us, the halls of government will echo with talk of how much to lower the ceiling, not how strong to build the floor.

I know that as dedicated men and women you will not fail if you join forces with those who want to help, who can help, and who will help, to make this country a healthier and happier place to live in. For there are men of good will everywhere who share your dream and ask only for the chance to help you turn it into reality.

With confidence in one another, and in the rightness of what we seek, I have no doubt that we shall live to see the day when our frontiers have been expanded until they encompass dignity for every American.

Expanding Frontiers in Public Welfare

I. THE 1956 SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

by WILBUR J. COHEN

THERE IS NOW A RECOGNITION and realization that social insurance and public welfare programs are here to stay. While there is still a strong current of opposition to any forthright acceptance of the objectives of the "welfare state" (whatever that might be), the overwhelming majority of Americans accept the idea that our economic and political systems have the objective of achieving a "state of welfare" and that government has an important role to play in this matter. With the change in the national Administration in 1953, many persons in both political parties believed that there would be basic changes in the existing social insurance and public welfare programs which would modify the basic features established by the New Deal and maintained by the Fair Deal. However, much to the disappointment of some leaders in both political parties, the Eisenhower Administration has accepted every one of the fundamental principles underlying these programs and has made recommendations which, on the whole, strengthened, improved, and expanded them. Thus, we now move forward on the assumption of a bipartisan—and nonpartisan—support of these basic programs. This is a factor in the situation which did not exist in the formative period when these programs were being put into operation and there were constitutional, economic, administrative, emotional, and political objections to the programs.

To illustrate the tremendous change in attitudes which has taken place: the fact that farmers, state and local employees, members of the armed forces, lawyers and businessmen, all originally opposed to being covered under Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI), are now covered under the program, is an indication of the widespread acceptance of the principle of social insurance among the higher status groups in our society. OASI is no longer thought of as a poor man's program but as a near-universal program covering persons in all income levels and social classes. Today about 90 percent of the labor force is contributing to the program compared to about 60 percent at its inception. This has had and will have an influential effect on the entire benefit and financing structure of the program.

A second, but somewhat contradictory, trend is the fact that there is increasing opposition to specific proposals for improving and extending social insurance and public assistance. It is, indeed, interesting to note that the United States Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution urging the Congress to repeal the disability insurance program enacted in 1956. Disbursements under social insurance, public assistance, and related public programs are now being made at the rate of over \$18 billion a year; if all public expenditures for medical services and facilities are included, the total will reach \$23 billion; and, if the related private health, welfare, and unemployment programs are included, the total exceeds \$33 billion. These amounts are certain to continue to grow and are likely to approximate \$40 billion a year by 1960. With the increase in the level of employment and earnings, the growth of private health, welfare, pension, and supplementary unemployment plans, as well as private insurance, savings, and home ownership, proposals for expanding the scope of public programs have become more controversial and more complex. Perhaps we should recognize that while the proposals were always controversial, there is a greater willingness on the part of those who oppose particular proposals to do so more openly and vigorously in the light of the growing private arrangements for social security and the favorable economic conditions.

As an illustration of what I mean, five cash sickness benefit laws

were enacted in the United States during the period 1942-49, and there has not been a cash sickness law passed since then. Likewise, the movement for a public hospitalization insurance program started and stalled at the same time when California enacted it in 1949. There has been a deep freeze in effect in new state programs in recent years, and practically all the basic experimentation in new programs which has occurred has been in the Federal social security legislation enacted in 1956.

We can expect that in the kind of society in which we live there will be a strong diversity of opinion on specific program changes in social security. The complexity and magnitude of the issues involved, whether they are the coverage of farm workers, the liberalization of disability insurance benefits, the increase in the level of old age, unemployment, or workmen's compensation benefits, or provision for hospitalization protection, raise fundamental questions such as those relating to incentives, motivations, costs, standards of adequacy, the role of public and private agencies, and the relationship between Federal and state governments. Conflicts over these issues seem likely to be intensified rather than minimized, and, unfortunately, the general public seems less likely to understand the implications of the issues as they become more complex. For, as Senator Paul Douglas has said, a new situation arises when open opposition to social reform ceases and there is no longer an attempt at the outright repeal of welfare measures. Then those interested in improving the programs find themselves forced to engage in a whole series of defensive actions on what to most people are apparently minor issues. Because these minor issues are complicated, they do not stir the blood or awaken the support of the people, as did the basic controversies over establishment or preservation of the basic programs. This raises the question of how we are to effectuate social change reasonably promptly in a democratic society as issues become more complex and confused.

This brings us to the disappearance of the depression as an element in the formulation of policy regarding our social welfare programs. For a long period of time, the bitter memory of the depression in the minds of millions of people, and the deep fear of another depression in the minds of countless others, was a sig-

nificant factor affecting attitudes and pressures with respect to many different kinds of programs. But today, many of the voters and many young people have no personal knowledge of the great depression of 1929-33. It is a part of what they have heard about and read in their history books along with the Civil War and the laying of the first cable across the Atlantic Ocean. For many other families, the fear of unemployment during the postwar period has given way to the sustained prosperity of the 1950s. Rather than justify changes or improvements in social programs on the basis of a crusade against the threat of unemployment or depression, changes in the program can and must be justified on a high level of economic literacy which assumes a continued increase in productivity and wages, and the ability of the country to finance improvements in social welfare out of a growing national income. But, as current conditions indicate, it is not easy to persuade those influential persons in our society who look only at taxes and the national debt instead of our growing productivity and population. Moreover, when most people are contented with their existing situation there is, to quote Senator Douglas again, such a rush in politics toward the middle of the road, that a terrific traffic jam is created there—and no particular forward progress is made in a traffic jam.

With these forces in mind the passage of the social security amendments of 1956 is all the more remarkable. A wide range of provisions enacted by the Congress last year extends and improves social insurance, public assistance, child welfare, and social services for millions of individuals and families.

The lowering of the social security retirement age for women to sixty-two has already become effective. Payment of insurance benefits to persons age fifty and over determined to be permanently and totally disabled will begin in July, 1957. Coverage was extended. These changes will result in increasing insurance benefits about a billion dollars next year and \$2 billion a year in the future. They will be of great importance to the happiness and security of millions of families. They mark another important step in improving our basic nationwide insurance program as an effective instrument for preventing dependency.

The determination of permanent total disability and the rehabilitation of the disabled will offer social workers new opportunities for constructive social services in working with medical, rehabilitation, and vocational personnel. Adopted by the Congress over the combined opposition of the business and insurance groups, national and state medical associations, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the disability insurance amendments represent a triumph for effective social action in which many social workers, public and private welfare agencies, and the labor organizations played a significant role.

The public assistance and child welfare amendments in the new law should aid in raising standards of performance and broaden services. Federal grants for public assistance to the aged, the blind, dependent children, and the disabled were increased in October of 1956. Of special interest is the fact that the increase in Federal funds for Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) was raised in relation to the increase in the other categories as compared with previous increases. Federal funds for medical care were provided which will make it possible to develop state programs for the care of the medically needy in the four existing categories beginning this July. Explicit authorization was provided for expanding services for self-support and self-care for assistance beneficiaries. The ADC program was amended to recognize specifically the objective of maintaining and strengthening family life. In addition, the ADC program was broadened by extending Federal aid to additional relatives (first cousins, nephews, and nieces) and by eliminating the school attendance requirement for children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. The authorization for Federal child welfare services was increased from \$10 million to \$12 million annually.

After many years of effort on the part of public assistance agencies and social workers, Congress last year authorized the use of Federal funds to the states for training qualified personnel in public assistance. The basic law provides that this program becomes effective July 1, 1957. Federal funds will be available to pay 80 percent of costs. The law authorizes \$5 million in Federal funds for the first year and for each of the four succeeding years what-

ever sums the Congress may determine. It will permit the training of personnel employed in, or preparing for employment in, public assistance programs and the establishment of special courses of study or seminars of short duration, and fellowships or traineeships. It is hoped that the program will aid in improving the quality of service given in public assistance agencies throughout the country.

Federal funds are provided for research and demonstration projects in social security, public, and private welfare administration. Such projects may be undertaken by public or private non-profit agencies. The funds are available for projects such as those relating to the prevention and reduction of dependency, to effectuating coordination of planning between private and public agencies, or to improving the administration and effectiveness of programs carried on or assisted under the Social Security Act and programs related thereto. The authorization is broad. Through this new provision further study and research may lead to improvements in private and public programs and to the reduction of dependency.

Taken together, these amendments will enable public and private welfare agencies to take a new look at needs and resources, to emphasize new areas of service, to chart new goals. Social workers and public welfare personnel played a significant role in the planning and enactment of these amendments. They have the responsibility and an opportunity of participating in their administration. From the experience with the 1956 legislation will come the recognition of other changes for the future.

The 1956 amendments—so important to the 5 million needy persons of this country, so significant for the future of the entire public welfare programs in every state of the Union—are now on the verge of being curtailed before they have even had the opportunity to be put into actual effect. The House of Representatives has set a limitation on the amount of funds which state welfare departments may use for administration and services. This appropriation limitation has been passed in the House on four separate occasions: three times in relation to the deficiency appropriations for May and June of 1957 and on the fourth occasion

for the regular appropriation for 1958. The Senate, responsive to the protests of public welfare agencies, eliminated the restriction for 1957, and the House of Representatives finally conceded to the Senate on this matter for the remainder of the 1957 fiscal year.

To compound matters still worse, the 1958 appropriation bill, as passed by the House and pending in the Senate Appropriations Committee, provides for a reduction in Federal funds of about 10 percent for state and local administrative and service purposes. This limitation, if enacted, will mean that the states will not be able to put into effect in any substantial degree the self-support and self-care provisions of the 1956 amendments. In addition, the House of Representatives completely eliminated President Eisenhower's recommendations for Federal funds to implement the provisions for training additional workers in public assistance and for the research and demonstration projects to minimize dependency.

The bright hopes of 1956 for improving services to our needy citizens seem to be fading away under the pressures of economy. Although I believe that if Congress is informed of the views of the millions of Americans who do not wish to see our needy persons suffer they will modify the action of the House of Representatives, nevertheless, in all honesty, I must say that great damage has already been done by the limitations written into the bills by the House. State after state has had to stop its planning for implementing the 1956 amendments. It is probably too late now, even if action is favorable, to implement the service training and research amendments promptly at the beginning of the fiscal year. In fact, it would be foolhardy to do so without the planning that was in progress when the states, the schools, and private and public agencies learned of the proposed cuts.

These recent developments illustrate how important it is to exercise eternal vigilance in the legislative process. The victory of one session may easily turn into the defeats of another via the appropriation route.

Every two years, beginning in 1950, important social security and welfare legislation has been passed by the Congress. From 1939 to 1950 there was a deathly silence in social security legisla-

tion as Congress was preoccupied with the war and the immediate postwar problems. Then, in the legislation enacted in 1950 the ten-year impasse which had paralyzed the development of our social insurance program was broken. By broadening coverage and increasing benefits, the OASI program became the basic social security program of the nation in 1951. In 1952, as prices and wages increased as a result of the Korean War, social security benefits were increased promptly. In 1954, the basic features of the contributory wage-related system were endorsed by the Eisenhower Administration and the program was broadened and extended by overwhelming bipartisan support in Congress. In 1956, over tremendous opposition, the eligibility age for women was reduced from sixty-five to sixty-two and disability insurance benefits were added beginning at age fifty. Thus, in a short period of time, significant progress was made.

Much still remains to be done in 1958. There are still some groups, such as farm workers and public employees, which should be covered by the program. Insurance benefits are still inadequate for most beneficiaries, particularly for aged widows and for the families of deceased workers where there are several children. The maximum earnings base of \$4,200 a year on which contributions and benefits are based, set in 1954, is far too low in terms of present and future wage levels. The arbitrary age requirement for disability insurance benefits should be deleted so that disabled persons under the age of fifty will be eligible for insurance benefits. And benefits should be provided for the dependents of disabled persons just as is done for the dependents of retired and deceased workers. It is an anomaly that we expect the disabled worker to exist on a scale of benefits which disregards the obvious fact he may have a wife and children dependent on his income.

But an even more basic need remains to be met. We can increase social security benefits by five or ten dollars a month, but this by itself will not meet the pressing need for hospitalization and medical services so urgently required by many of the insurance beneficiaries, particularly the aged and the disabled.

While it is not possible to review at this time all the various health insurance proposals being advanced, one which merits

further study is the plan for hospitalization insurance for OASI beneficiaries. This differs from the comprehensive health insurance proposal, or so-called "catastrophic" or major medical coverage, in that it is a limited proposal both with respect to the groups to be covered and the scope of the protection, but one which, if it were in operation today, would provide protection to 13 million people: the aged, the widows, the dependent children, and the disabled. The major argument for the proposal is that it would cover people not in the labor force who are among those who have the highest medical costs, the least private protection, and the lowest money resources. While the cost of hospital care to any individual or family may be large, by pooling the risk and averaging the cost the financial burden on the worker and the community can be made feasible. The cost of such hospitalization protection would be less than half of one percent of payroll, which would mean only a quarter of one percent contributed by the employer and an equal amount by the employee, if the cost were to be shared on the same basis as that of the present program.

The usual objection to the proposal is that it is an entering wedge for a comprehensive governmental health insurance program and will thus lead to governmental control over medical care and a consequent lowering of the quality of medical care. There will be those who will dispute these dire prospects. The voluntary health insurance movement is faced with the dilemma that it may not be able to cover all of the aged, disabled, and other low-income groups, or, if it does, it will have to increase costs to all other people, some of whom may drop their voluntary coverage, thus probably increasing per capita costs still further, and thus stimulating the movement for a compulsory health insurance plan. To solve this problem, it is generally recognized by some of those who have studied the matter that additional governmental funds are necessary to attain coverage of the groups not in the labor force who need protection the most. Here is an area for further study.

Important areas of unmet needs also exist in the field of public welfare. More and more the public assistance case load is concentrating in two large areas: the broken, disorganized family in

ADC, and the individual in the other categories who needs costly and protracted medical care. It is significant to recall that Federal funds for ADC are limited at the present time to children who have become needy because of the death, disability, or absence of a parent from the home. The question may well be raised whether, where there are symptoms of family breakdown, the eligibility requirement that the father be absent from the home is an inducement to family breakup. How much better it would be if we could focus on keeping the family together rather than determining whether they are actually apart. Consideration should be given to making it possible to care for any child in his own home irrespective of the cause of his need.

Similarly, we need to consider eliminating the restriction of permanence and totality to needy disabled persons. Why wait until the individual is practically hopeless before we can be helpful? As one of my students said, our objective should be to keep the individual vertical rather than treating him when he is horizontal.

This raises the question of medical care needs among the 6 million persons receiving public assistance. As states broaden their medical care arrangements, it may be desirable to reconsider the \$6 per month limitation on Federal matching for this purpose.

With respect to funds for Federal child welfare services it should be noted that the Federal authorization of \$12 million amounts to less than twenty-five cents per child per year, or two cents per child per month! If our objective were limited simply to obtaining three cents per child per month—the cost of an ordinary postage stamp—it would mean a 50 percent increase in Federal funds.

In discussing the question of what period one would choose in which to live, Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*, reviewed the various periods of history and concluded:

As for ourselves, we choose the present. The danger to human mind and flesh may never have been greater. The means for cheapening life and brutalizing it may never have been so highly developed, so easy to use. There may never have been so many distractions and trivia to assault the mind, to pull it in so many petty directions. Nor has there ever been an age in which so many men gave so little thought to the vital things that concerned their destiny.

Despite it all . . . just think of what we win if we win. No other

age in history has had the same potential. About no earlier period in history could it be said that the earth could be made sufficient for the needs of all its people. . .

We need not be prisoners of drift. There is no law in history that says that men cannot reverse their direction and drive boldly forward for the things that are good and that can be theirs. Nothing is more characteristic of history than the suddenness of its shifts when enough men become aware of a large purpose.

As we expand our knowledge and our productivity, we aim to attack more vigorously than ever before the five giants on the road ahead of us: ignorance, squalor, disease, involuntary idleness, and want. The conquest of these giants is ever coming more closely within our reach. We believe that we can make great strides toward this goal in our lifetime. I believe we can—and will—do so.

II. POTENTIALITIES FOR STATE AND LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE

by *LOULA DUNN*

“**P**^{POTENTIALITIES}” is an exciting and stimulating word. It suggests new opportunities for future growth and development which are not completely perceivable. When applied to state and local public welfare, it suggests enlarged opportunities for progress.

Picture in every one of the more than three thousand counties of the fifty-three jurisdictions of these United States the presence of an agency of the government charged with responsibility to administer provisions of the Social Security Act as they relate to public welfare. And remember that in far too many of the more rural and remote counties it is the only social agency. In this vast network is found a working partnership of local, state, and Federal governmental agencies which are the legal expression of society's

concern for the welfare of its members. Here is expressed, too—in the variation of breadth, adequacy, and skill of program—our belief in the democratic process. These variations, and they are many and wide, reflect local and state determination of quality and quantity of public welfare within the broad Federal provisions.

Each and every welfare department, whatever its present program, has new opportunities through the 1956 amendments. To some departments they offer a chance to do more than just concentrate on the giving of financial aid; to others they mean enrichment and extension of one or more existing programs; to all they give assurance that the true meaning of the term "public welfare" can be more effectively advanced. These amendments are a tribute to the many people in public welfare, and indeed in the whole social welfare field, who have subscribed to and supported these principles; to those who have demonstrated the feasibility of such programs; and to the citizens and lawmakers who expressed increasing confidence in public welfare by providing these new tools.

What are the specific tools which these amendments provide? Most significant among them are: the extension of social insurance coverage; provision of disability insurance on a limited scale; increased Federal participation in maintenance assistance; special funds for medical care to the needy; services defined as a purpose of public assistance and directed toward strengthening family life, self-support, and self-care; authorization of funds for cooperative research and demonstration projects; authorization of funds for training public assistance personnel; and authorization of additional funds for child welfare services.

The American Public Welfare Association used its 1956 Legislative Objectives in support of these improvements in the nation's social security programs. Speaking in behalf of its public welfare members throughout the country, it joined with other social welfare organizations in interpreting the need for, and the timeliness of, this new legislation. Its passage means achievement of goals long sought by the Association. Embodied in them are long-time aims of the Association, some of which it has worked for since its inception twenty-seven years ago. Objectives still to be achieved and new goals now compose the Association's 1957 legislative plat-

form. Such declarations of position by public welfare are implicit in the responsibility of those who are a working part of this governmental field of human relations.

One can speak of "potentialities" in terms of enrichment of program, or the emphasis can be on the ultimate result of such enrichment in the lives of the people who receive its benefits. I believe the two are inseparable. Legislation, policy formation, skill of staff, adequacy of grants, social services, and community understanding and participation—all serve only one purpose, fulfillment of the social and economic needs of people. Gertrude Springer once said that the essence of public welfare is people and cautioned that we must hold fast to the interpretation of people, not just doctrines, problems, and programs.

While we rejoice over the potentialities of the amendments, we are conscious that effective use of these new tools is necessary. Some are already available, others are only "in the stockroom." Thoughtful and careful preparation is our obligation. Cooperative planning by Federal, state, and local agencies must precede activation. Here again must be manifested an honest, objective consideration of variations, state by state and locality by locality. In many states one or more of these amendments require action by state legislatures in order for advantage to be taken of these new resources. In other states, policy must be changed and redistribution of funds and staff determined. All public welfare staff must have intelligent and imaginative know-how, conviction, and patience, if the full benefits are to reach the people for whom they were intended.

Since the enactment of this new legislation it has been interesting to note the ease with which some agencies have grasped its full import, while others have seemed overwhelmed by its far-reaching effects. Herein lies a special challenge to public welfare workers who have long seen the need for these resources. Here too can be found the way so long desired by so many valiant public welfare workers to help, prevent, rehabilitate, give needed medical care, find answers through research to baffling social problems, acquire more and better skilled staff, serve children better, and more effectively discharge our stewardship.

But this legislation is not the full answer. Any program created

to serve the economic and social needs of people must be sensitive to change. These needs are affected by a growing and fast-moving national economy. Public welfare by its very nature is a changing and dynamic program. And because it is a governmental program, it is also subject to political considerations. There is, indeed, serious question whether Congress will appropriate the necessary funds for administration and services, training, and research for the fiscal year 1958. In some of the states, also, insufficient appropriations mean that case loads are too large and grants too small, so that too little can be done about ways in which public welfare can move along this new and broader highway. This is both discouraging and frustrating to the public welfare worker who is so close to the people the agency is created to serve.

Not only is there much to be done in fulfilling the promise of the 1956 legislation, but there are also such continuing challenges as inadequate or even nonexistent general assistance programs in some states and localities; restrictive residence laws; the special needs of the aged; children in need of foster care; the medically indigent; the juvenile delinquent; and mentally retarded children.

Localities and states must not look solely to the Federal Government for support and leadership in developing and expanding the new frontiers suggested by these unmet needs. Public welfare programs can be only as good as their communities wish them to be. To the extent that the citizens of each community understand and participate in the planning and implementation of these changes, to this extent will public welfare truly give expression to society's social conscience.

We must set our sights toward a comprehensive public welfare program which has the following ingredients: a legislative base which is broad, sound, and flexible; adequate and stable financing which provides the needed funds for efficient administration, adequate grants, social services, sufficient qualified personnel, prompt and competent service to those already in need and to those who can benefit by preventive services; and enlarged and enriched community participation.

Public welfare is now big business in which the public has a large stake. It is an outgrowth of the expressed will of the people. It must take deep roots in the communities and must be both

wanted and understood. I do not mean to imply that public welfare can or should replace the voluntary agency. Public and voluntary programs, joining hands and pooling knowledge, must together plan to meet the total social welfare needs of each community. The voluntary social welfare field has long known the importance of deep roots in the community; we in public welfare can continue to learn from our colleagues as we carry out our new responsibilities.

The kind of comprehensive public welfare program I have described cannot hope to be attained in all of its parts at once. Constant reexamination of program, simple but factual interpretation both of what is and what should be, open new avenues of public appreciation, agency improvement, and better service to people. The range and limitation of public welfare must be known, and this knowledge must be shared.

Dr. C. C. Carstens once said that it is wise for the leaders in the field of public welfare to remember that while they must be better informed than people generally as to the best principles of social development, yet they must not be so far ahead of the people that they cannot reach back and touch their hands.

The amendments in and of themselves do not suddenly guarantee that all state and local public welfare agencies will take advantage of the full potential of this legislation. State by state, the legal, financial, and administrative foundations must be laid. But because of them, public welfare takes on new dimensions. They reflect a relatively new, but growing, public belief: that it is the responsibility of society to provide people with the services which will help them to become free and functioning members of our society. All over the country there is new hope for the people served by public welfare, new resources for those who render the service. Much thoughtful planning and positive action are to be found both in the least developed and in the most progressive public welfare agencies. There is new stature for the profession of public welfare. The community is beginning to sense that public welfare is on the forward move.

True, there are still many hurdles, both real and imagined. Not all the money authorized by the 1956 Congress is yet appropriated. Workers with the necessary training and skill are in short supply.

Complex problems must still be worked out in order to implement the medical care provisions. The activation of the service components of the public assistance titles requires great ingenuity and flexibility. Child welfare problems are greater in number and variety than available resources. The new social security insurance provisions are just beginning to make the expected impact on public welfare.

But the potentialities for state and local public welfare are readily visible. There is already abundant evidence of the new strength and wider usefulness they can bring to public welfare. Satisfaction can be found in their meaning to millions of the old, the young, the troubled, the handicapped, who rely on public welfare in time of trouble. Surely even now—and in spite of the work yet to be done—public welfare workers, and indeed all social welfare, can sense the enrichment of public welfare, both potentially and actually.

This promise of better service to people reminds us that Arnold Toynbee once said he believed the twentieth century would be recorded in history not primarily for its scientific discoveries or as the age of the atomic bomb, but for the new ideal and objective of extending the benefits of civilization to the common man.

The great potentiality for public welfare is to make this prediction a living reality.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

by ARTHUR H. KRUSE

THE PROGRESS OF PUBLIC WELFARE over the last twenty-five years has had a substantial influence, directly and indirectly, on the purposes and programs of voluntary agencies. There is reason to believe that the next twenty-five years will see an even

greater impact of public welfare developments on voluntary agencies and that such developments will require voluntary agencies to make even greater adaptations of their functions to changing times. The next twenty-five years may well be a period in which we clarify the functions and operations of governmental services in dealing with the social illness needs of our society, whereas over the last twenty-five years we have substantially clarified the responsibility of government for the economic insecurity needs of individuals.

We have governmental services operating in relation to specific problem areas of human behavior such as mental illness, child protection, crime, and juvenile delinquency. However, we have not had a comprehensive public program of professional services working with the family and its individual members with the objective of preventing and treating social illness.

One of the general implications of public welfare progress for voluntary agencies has to do with the broadening concept of *who* in the general public is involved in the community welfare program. When Eddie Cantor draws up in his Cadillac to collect his social insurance benefits he symbolizes a new concept of public participation in the community public welfare program. This is true even though he immediately contributes his social insurance benefits to a voluntary agency. A trend parallel to what has happened in public welfare has also taken place in the voluntary field. In a typical urban community 60 percent to 70 percent or more of the total population in any one year are apt to use the services of organizations financed through the community chest and united fund campaigns. Just as there is a growing awareness that some 90 percent or more of us are economically insecure in relation to such difficulties as old age, catastrophic mental and physical illness, and extended unemployment, so too there is a growing awareness that the management of human behavior in a manner satisfactory to ourselves, our family, and the community presents problems which are common to all persons regardless of race, color, creed, or social and economic status. This trend has positive and negative aspects which should be the joint concern of governmental and voluntary welfare agencies.

On the positive side, these trends appear to reflect a better public understanding of the nature of social and economic needs in an interdependent society and an increased willingness on the part of people to work together cooperatively to achieve a more decent life for themselves. The notion of the universality of problems of economic and social adjustment provides a sound platform on which to build a pattern of more specific ideas about what constitutes efficient and effective governmental and voluntary welfare services.

On the negative side, both for public and for voluntary services, there is a growing evidence of our failure to develop upon a platform of the universality of human needs an appropriate differentiation of needs and related solutions. The general participation of the public in social insurance is apparently not readily translated into an understanding of, and support for, public assistance programs. This observation applies particularly to those service aspects which involve a complex, technical, and expensive approach to the social rehabilitation of individual families. Voluntary family agencies are generally pleased that they are now serving all social and economic groups in the community, but this very fact presents new problems of sorting out what constitutes a really significant service if we are not just to be all things to all people and nothing to anyone. The St. Paul and other experiments conducted by Bradley Buell and Survey Associates, the work of the New York Youth Board, the Community Service Society of New York research on the evaluation of the results of casework treatment—these and other activities bearing on the definition, diagnosis, and treatment of problems of social maladjustment are just first efforts in the many steps we need to take to clarify the objectives of our social treatment services.

A second general implication is concerned with the most important over-all impact of public welfare developments on voluntary agencies. This impact has to do with the fact that being relieved of one kind of responsibility, voluntary agencies are enabled to turn to other things. This is dramatically illustrated in the experience of the Cleveland Family Service Association which on June 4, 1933, employed 1,300 persons and was administering

financial assistance to 37,000 families. On October 2, 1933, after a transfer of staff with the establishment of a department of public welfare, the Family Service Association had 79 employees, a case load of 1,051 families, and was pointed wholeheartedly in the direction of dealing with social needs. Voluntary agencies of today have been able to develop their present program for the treatment of social illness and the promotion of social health only because of the existence of a comprehensive public welfare program which meets basic economic needs. Actually, there is reason to believe that voluntary agencies are beginning just now to realize the fullest potentialities of their research, demonstration, and service functions in the area of social illness—all of this made possible only because of the expanding role of public welfare over the last twenty-five years. The continued improvement of the present voluntary agency program, among other things, depends on two basic conditions which, in turn, are related to each other: the continued high productivity and stability of our economic system; the continued improvement of our governmental program on behalf of economic needs and the gradual expansion of governmental services dealing with social pathology.

Let us turn to some of the implications of the 1956 social security amendments. The most direct implications are to be found in the research and demonstration amendment.¹

A more successful community program for the treatment of individual and family patterns of social and economic maladjustment is dependent on a substantial increase in our knowledge about such matters, and this can come only with a greatly expanded research program. Voluntary welfare agencies have a responsibility to establish research and demonstration as one of their primary functions and not just as a staff or auxiliary activity. If this point of view is correct, on the national and local levels, voluntary agencies should proceed to establish policy for this approach with boards of directors and the community, and should come to grips with the new requirements of program changes and staff retooling.

¹ Wilbur J. Cohen has an excellent article bearing on this subject: "New Opportunities in Social Security Research," *Social Work*, II, No. 2 (1957), 14-21.

A memorandum received on May 7 from Clark Blackburn, General Director of the Family Service Association of America, illustrates the importance the voluntary agencies attach to this amendment. To his memorandum he attached a report from the National Social Welfare Assembly, entitled "Social Security Cooperative Research and Demonstration Grant Program," which had been prepared by the Assembly Committee on Social Research. This committee includes individual representatives from such organizations as the United Community Funds and Councils of America, the Child Welfare League of America, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Family Service Association of America, National Tuberculosis Association, and the National Association of Social Workers. The report outlines for the voluntary agency field the areas of research which might be developed in cooperation with the Social Security Administration and suggests ways to approach setting up such research. Mr. Blackburn in referring to the Assembly report comments as follows in his memorandum:

This Committee report was developed on the assumption that funds would become available on July 1st of this year to finance this new program. We were all much concerned when the Appropriations Committee of the House deleted the appropriation recommended for this purpose both by the President and by its own Subcommittee and thus left this program without the essential financial means for its implementation.

If this program is to become a reality, in spite of this set-back, evidence of strong support for it must reach the Senate Appropriations Committee and individual Senators immediately. I therefore urge that, if your agency favors this program, you or your Board President write to the members of the Senate Appropriations Committee and your own Senator expressing your convictions as to the importance of this research grant program to the development of the basic knowledge needed to further constructive public policy and true economy in public assistance programs based on sound principles and the protection of human values.

Thus we get some idea of the impact of Federal social security legislation on voluntary agencies and also their responsiveness as partners with public agencies in a joint concern about the nation's welfare program.

Other less direct but nevertheless significant implications of the 1956 amendments have to do with the provisions which recognize the objective of strengthening family life and which encourage services designed to develop self-support and self-care for assistance beneficiaries. Also related to the possibility of an increase in the scope of public social services is the expansion of the rehabilitation program and the authorization of funds for training personnel in public assistance.² Although it is true that certain state laws have encouraged a social service function related to public assistance administration, it is also obvious that local public welfare departments generally are not geared to dealing with the social and emotional adjustment problems which are related to economic dependency. Even though the state and Federal levels have made substantial progress in staffing themselves with professionally trained personnel, many local public welfare departments have fewer trained staff members now than they did twenty years ago. I stress this point because I feel so strongly that the next push in public welfare should be the development of a high-quality professional program dealing with the problems of social and emotional adjustment related to economic dependency.

I am not being critical when I point out how far the average local public welfare department has to go to achieve such a program. Rather, if we are to be helpful it is only realistic to recognize: (1) that policy in regard to the social treatment and social rehabilitation functions of public welfare departments has not, for the most part, been clearly established; and (2) that provision of trained personnel to carry out such functions and the development of a program with high standards of performance will be a long-time endeavor.

The voluntary agencies, in my opinion, should take the point of view that the future hope for a more adequate community program to deal with the high incidence of economic and social maladjustment is an expansion of the professional therapeutic efforts of public welfare departments. If this is a valid statement the

² Two excellent articles bearing on these subjects are: Joseph E. Baldwin, "Present Status of Public Welfare Services," *ibid.*, pp. 22-31, and Ellen Winston, "New Opportunities for Trained Personnel in Public Welfare," *ibid.*, pp. 8-13.

voluntary agencies should find ways to assist the public departments in the achievement of this goal to the extent to which it can be pursued under the 1956 amendments. What form these efforts might take cannot be developed here except for an illustration of possible implications.

A substantial burden of providing field training opportunities in cooperation with schools of social work is being assumed currently by the voluntary agencies. Of necessity, such a situation will have to exist for many years to come. I believe that the voluntary agency should see the education of students not as an auxiliary or staff function but as one of its primary functions or purposes. It is interesting to note that in the cost studies in which the Family Service of Philadelphia, the Jewish Family Service of Philadelphia, and the Family Service Association of Cleveland engaged, the education of students for social work was identified as a production or line cost versus a service or overhead cost. My impression is that that this opinion is not generally held by voluntary agencies. This may appear to some to be making a fine distinction, but I believe it is an important distinction, namely, that on the policy-making level voluntary agencies should consider the education of professional social workers not just as a means to the end of staffing their own agencies but as a contribution to the total field of social services, public and voluntary, and to the general welfare of the community.

The more the function of the public welfare program moves toward service on behalf of social and emotional needs, the more important become the knowledge and skill which are the property of the professional practitioner versus more general information about administrative organization, policies, and procedures. In many communities the voluntary agency is at present the only setting where such professional knowledge and skill can be developed. Undoubtedly, the public welfare program will be able to provide more and more such educational opportunities as it further develops its professional functions. This is one place where the voluntary agencies have made a substantial contribution in the past, and the new training amendment opens up obligations and

opportunities for voluntary agencies far beyond our present realizations.

In conclusion let me stress two thoughts:

1. Evidences of breakdown in the ability of individuals to cope with problems of everyday living as these are reflected in such things as family disorganization, child neglect, and economic dependency continue at a high level. Research and demonstration over the last few years clearly suggest that a more substantial approach to the achievement of better social health for large numbers of our most disorganized families goes far beyond the present resources and functions of our voluntary agencies. The 1956 amendments should encourage within the public welfare system the development of a professional social rehabilitation service geared to the problems of emotional and social adjustment.

Although primarily related to economic dependency this can and should become the first step toward a comprehensive public family service program for the prevention and treatment of social illness.

2. In addition to fulfilling their service functions as they now exist and will be modified in the future, voluntary agencies should give a high priority to those activities which impinge directly on the research, demonstration projects, and professional education toward which our public welfare services are moving.

Techniques and Methods in Child Welfare

by MILDRED ARNOLD

PERHAPS THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL THINGS which stand out clearly when we view redirections in child welfare are our growing appreciation of what we mean by the concept of "a family of his own for every child" and a renewed emphasis on preserving the child's own home for him. This statement is a simple one. You may say that it has long been the focus in planning for children, going back to early White House Conference days, and you may challenge whether it is, in fact, a redirection in child welfare.

It seems to me, however, that this concept now has greater clarity and deeper meaning; that now and for long into the future it will have a profound and significant effect upon everything we do in the field of child welfare. It forecasts, in a very real sense, a redirection in the total child welfare field.

This concept is bringing new meaning to social services to children in their own homes; it is challenging the long-time emphasis of many child welfare agencies on foster care of children; it is bringing about revolutionary changes in the field of adoption. It will help clarify the distinctive aspects of child welfare work. It will, I feel sure, affect future structure and organization of agency services. It will bring new concepts in the coordination of services and a reemphasis in community planning. It can bring significant changes in child welfare legislation. Sooner or later it will call for a reevaluation of the relative emphasis in community investment in child welfare. It should bring more testing of new ideas, as well as a richer use of old methods. It will bring

new demands for research in child welfare, a new look at staff training and development, and at the task of identifying and promoting community leadership.

I am aware that these may seem like sweeping statements, and one may ask how such a simple concept, which has been a part of our thinking and feeling for so long, can bring about such fundamental changes.

For many years child welfare work was rooted and anchored in foster care of children. It was oriented toward removal of children from their own homes. And communities reenforced us in this orientation because they responded to the results that could be seen—the rosier cheeks, the scrubbed bodies, the clean clothes. It took a long-time, patient effort on the part of the children themselves, often through bizarre behavior, to make us see what separation from parents was doing to children, to show us the limitations in foster care for many children, and to prove to us the irreplaceable value to the child of life in his own home.

Children need families of their own. They need someone to love them, to protect them, to give them security. Perhaps no one understands, or rather should understand this, more fully and more completely than the child welfare worker. For decades he was the one who carried responsibility for attempting to meet children's needs outside their own homes and away from their own parents. Agencies have had long experience in seeing the unhappy results of many placements and are now more ready to face them squarely.

Many things have happened that have forced us to take this direct look at placement. Some parents are coming back to us for service because, as children, they drifted along in foster care. Now, because they had no real parents of their own, they do not know how to be good parents. We are confronted with girls who are repeatedly giving birth out of wedlock because our only approach to their problem has been quickly to place their babies for adoption with no thought as to the mother's own deep-seated needs. We have talked too long about working with own parents while children are in foster care. Our experience has shown that failure as a parent is one of the truly great failures and that separation

of parents and children proves to be a long step toward permanent family disintegration. The great motive to do better often goes out the window when the child goes out the door. This is proving a challenge to us, in our responsibility for children in foster care, to increase our efforts and improve our skills in working with own parents.

In the case of children who cannot be placed for adoption, agencies are realizing the hazards they face in attempting to provide a continuity of care in foster homes. It is so difficult to provide for a child a continuous experience in the same home with understanding foster parents, capable of meeting the child's changing needs. The foster home that is excellent for young children, for instance, may be unable to cope with the adolescent. Too often we stand by while children spend their lives in a procession of foster homes.

Lastly, and perhaps most important, the children themselves are telling us what they need in foster care. They are telling us, in many different ways, that good physical care often means little to them if their emotional needs are not met; if they are not anchored to some element of security. They are telling us that they need so many things just for themselves: their own family, their own neighborhood, their own school, their own friends, their own church. Two boys in Washington, whose home burned down and whose parents burned to death while they were at school, reiterated this so poignantly. Almost their first words after seeing the ruins of their home were, "We want to stay *here*, in *this* neighborhood, and go to *this* school." In their shattered world, they clung desperately to the only familiar things left to them.

Often we are amazed at what children can survive emotionally if their family can but hold together. We are growing steadily in our respect for the cohesive power of the family. We are realizing more and more that most parents want to be good parents and that, with help, most have the capacity to change for the better.

Just as in the early days we said that children should not be placed in foster care for economic reasons alone, now we are saying that foster placement in itself can never be the answer to a child's need for a home and parents of his own.

This means that child welfare agencies must assume greater responsibility for preventing family breakdown and for helping parents in their task of child rearing. Toward this end, agencies are providing more and more services to children in their own homes, and in the process they are learning how to use the strengths parents have for the benefit of the child. Much of this effort, particularly in the expanding public social services, must go into services to children who are neglected or abused by their parents. As society has become more complex, family tensions have increased, and these tensions are reflected in the lives of children and their parents. More children are being referred to agencies for service because of abuse or neglect by their parents. Protective services, then, are taking on greater significance in public child welfare services.

If children are to remain in their own homes, agencies must utilize a variety of resources. This means developing certain ones within the agency structure and stimulating new or expanded services within other community agencies. Unfortunately, the two services within agency structure that can contribute much to preserving a child's own home have progressed with extreme slowness in this country. One, homemaker service, safeguards, protects, stabilizes, and unifies families. We have only begun to grasp the significance of this service as a means of keeping many children in their own homes. Today only eighty-nine cities in thirty-one states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have even the beginnings of this service.

The other resource for protecting and keeping children in their own homes—day care of children whose mothers must work—remains the "stepchild" of welfare services. The number of women going into the labor market has been increasing steadily since before the Second World War. The proportion of working women with children under six years of age is growing rapidly. Yet as we think of new ways of protecting children and keeping them in their own homes, day care represents one of the major unmet needs. States have tried to meet this situation by strengthening their licensing programs, by developing standards for day care, and by providing training courses for day care operators. Yet the

hard core of the problem can be met only by providing new facilities, foster family day care homes, and day care centers.

More children are being returned to their own homes from foster care. In some states progress is represented in cold statistics. In one state with a long history of state wardship and the placement of many children in foster care, fewer children were committed to the state agency in 1955 than in 1936, despite the great growth in our child population in recent years. In 1936 the number of children committed to the agency far outdistanced the number dismissed. Now the trend has been reversed, with the number of children being dismissed each year greater than the number committed.

Work with parents leading to the return of their children to their homes has been a major factor. Of course, other things have contributed to this trend, too. The Aid to Dependent Children program has made a major contribution to keeping children with parent or parents. Smaller case loads have meant that workers have more time to work out permanent plans for children. As a result, many more children are adopted than have been in the past.

And this leads to the other significant development taking place in this country. "A permanent home for every child" is fast becoming the slogan for child welfare. If a child cannot live in his own home or with relatives, the only other really permanent solution is an adoptive placement. There is, of course, no problem in finding adoptive homes for white infants. Indeed, the present "market" is creating serious problems for us in terms of independent placements of these children without essential safeguards in the study and selection of homes. Some of this comes about, of course, from the feeling on the part of many people that just any well-meaning person can find a good home for a baby, from the denial of services to unmarried mothers, and from the profit that is sometimes made in such transactions. Almost twenty-five thousand babies and mothers find themselves in these unguarded situations every year.

It is the child who does not fit the criteria of Caucasian, non-handicapped, and infant who has a tough time when he needs this

type of permanent home. But hopeful things are happening for him too. Social agencies are beginning to understand that practically no child is unadoptable, and we are beginning to react against the new term "the hard-to-place child." New resources for placing these children are appearing, and concentrated efforts on the part of many agencies are bringing rewarding results. Some favorable magazine articles have helped. An awakening interest on the part of a number of states in the organization of an adoption resource exchange should spur efforts.

The whole adoption field is being greatly stimulated and expanded by the development of new resources, particularly in the public field, and by rapidly changing agency practices which make possible earlier placement of infants. Sounder criteria are available for assessing the capacity of would-be adoptive parents for parenthood, and greater skill in their use is being gained by workers. The adoption team—the doctor, the lawyer, the social worker—is being used with greater clarity and meaning. But a real need to search out and discover great untapped potentials in this country for the adoption of certain children still confronts us.

The organization and structure of agency services will be greatly affected by these redirections we have been considering. The concept is gradually evolving that child welfare agencies should be the resource in every community to which a child whose problems lie in the area of social relationships or social functioning can be referred or to which his parents can come for help. This calls not for specific and isolated services but for a broad range of services and facilities which are essential after a careful diagnostic service at intake has been provided.

The needs of these children and their parents will be many and varied. They may change many times in the course of providing service. They may call for the utilization of a variety of resources. Yet through it all must run a sustained and continuous service while the need exists. Will the future, then, present a challenge to those agencies offering only one type of service to children and their parents? Will we see an expansion of those broad-gauge child welfare services combined under one roof? No one, of course, can tell what the future holds. But there is

much evidence and there are many trends pointing in this direction.

An interesting example of this trend was the merger of several child welfare agencies in one community into one children's agency which now offers counseling service, placement of children in all types of foster care, service to unmarried mothers, child guidance, and service to adoptive couples. This agency reports that centralized intake has enabled them to listen more fully to the client and his expression of need. This has meant that the agency has become more sensitive to what underlies the parent's behavior and attitudes, whether he comes for placement or for guidance. They report that "the parent who, in desperation, comes requesting placement of his child, may now be helped to examine his efforts to become a more effective parent. It is now more possible for some parents to decide to maintain their children at home and to utilize our counseling service towards this purpose."¹

I predict that some of these newer concepts will soon begin to find their way into state child welfare legislation. In a draft of principles and suggested language for legislation on public child welfare and youth services the United States Children's Bureau has attempted to incorporate some of these concepts. The purpose of the legislation is set forth as one "to promote, safeguard and protect the social well-being and general welfare of children and youth in the State, through a comprehensive and coordinated program of public child welfare and youth services." This program is defined as meaning the duties and functions which are authorized or required by the Act to be provided by the state department with respect to: (1) the establishment and enforcement of standards for social services and facilities for children and youth; (2) the provision of such services to children, youth, and their parents and of care for such children and youth; and (3) the promotion of coordination and cooperation among organizations, agencies, and citizen groups in community planning, organization, and development of services.

This is a great advance over early legislation when children

¹Irving Greenberg and Alan Bookman, "The Value of a Merger of Children's Services," *Child Welfare*, XXXVI, No. 2 (1957), 3-4.

were tagged as dependent, neglected, delinquent; when services to unmarried mothers and their babies were provided under the Bastardy Act with the children labeled as bastards; when the main focus in interstate placement of children was not on protecting a child but on protecting the state from financial liability by posting a bond; when state law provided for the indenture of children as a means of providing care.

If we are to move forward in understanding the needs of children and their families, in providing the essential services and facilities they require, and in interpreting these programs to the community, we must define, more precisely than ever before, the specialized area of child welfare, determine its particular characteristics and the type of agency responsibility involved.

To do this, it is necessary to understand the nature of the child and all the formative stages of development he goes through. We must be clear in understanding what is adequate parental care and what is the special responsibility carried by society for children, since they cannot speak and act for themselves.

When parents cannot provide adequately for a child's needs part of their parental responsibilities may have to be assumed by the child welfare agency. This may range from assuming a relatively simple duty to taking responsibility for a formidable array of duties, such as arrangement for his food, clothing, and shelter, or consent to surgery, adoption, or marriage. These are serious responsibilities, indeed, and call for great clarity and understanding on the part of agencies.

Involved, also, is the matter of guardianship. The concept is taking hold that every child should have an individual able to exercise effective guardianship with respect to him, whether that individual be his natural or adoptive parent or his legally appointed guardian. If this concept is accepted, agencies must see clearly the value of this in safeguarding the child's rights and in providing a special interest in his well-being. When a legal guardian is appointed for a child, the agency must be clear as to what its responsibilities are if care and custody are vested in the agency.

And now I come to my last redirection, namely, a redirection in community planning for child welfare. We have stressed the im-

portance of preserving a child's own home for him. But we cannot pursue this concept in a vacuum. To a greater or lesser degree all parents need help from the community in order to bring up their children in health and happiness. And many things are happening to our culture and in our society that affect this basic unit—the family. These are too numerous to relate in full, but the following seem the most significant: the explosive growth of our population and its changing nature; the growing complexity of our society; the mobility of our population; and changes in urban and suburban development. Today the two extremes of our population are increasing rapidly—the children and the oldsters. By 1965 we shall have more children than there were people in the country in 1890; the number of children under eighteen years of age will then reach 63 million. Practically all couples these days have a great desire not only for a family but for a large one. So the size of our families is increasing. Our people are on the move. The geographical mobility of our population is far greater than that of any population in history—and movement not only is across county and state lines but represents shifts from rural to urban and to suburban living. Still another type of mobility is the movement of married women out of the home and into employment. The National Manpower Council states that a revolution in women's employment has occurred in the course of our present century. The past decades have also brought unprecedented pressures and strains in our society, and many tensions have developed in family living.

But these are not changes to be viewed with alarm. Rather, they present the challenge of a growing, healthy, expanding community, and we have to be prepared to pay for the social cost of problems they create and to be imaginative and creative in the ways we meet them.

What do these developments mean for child welfare? One thing is very clear. The interest and obligation of child welfare workers must extend beyond the development and provision of social services to children and their families. They must be concerned with the effects—for good or ill—which current scientific, social,

and economic conditions have upon family and child life, and this concern must be shared with others. Our widening vistas of knowledge and understanding, our greater ease in communication, make it increasingly clear that none of us can live, work, or move forward alone. What once may have seemed to be the concern of a single profession or a single agency or a single group now must be the concern of several.

Community organization and planning, then, must be a vital part of all child welfare programs. This calls for the use of much more orderly and responsible methods than we have ever had in the past. In considering this subject at one point, our social service staff in the Bureau proposed a rather simple definition: "Community organization for child welfare is a process which enables people to band together to achieve a particular objective for children." This definition is based on the theory that for child welfare, at least, community organization functions better if it is integrated into the existing structure of services. To make it effective, however, community organization must be a part of total program planning and administration must create an effective climate in which it can function. This part of a worker's responsibility should not be left to his particular interest or flair for it. Orderly planning for community organization should stem from the top down.

We see more and more evidence of action in this area. Action may start around a particular problem, a gap in service, a common concern. It may stem from a variety of sources—the concern of a particular individual, a legislative committee, a special emphasis by a national agency, a doctor's interest in the problem of adoption, a parent seeking help for his mentally retarded child.

But because social work has a body of knowledge and skill that is basic to community planning, it has a vital role to play. Other professions and interests will outstrip our profession unless we develop more conscious community planning and more orderly and responsible methods.

In some efforts in community planning for child welfare, the field itself will take the major role; in others it will join in co-

operative action. Its main effort many times will be that of helping to build strengths into other groups so that they can meet children's needs more effectively.

One of the interesting phases of community planning is the rural development program, now going into its third year. The emphasis of this program is on the improvement of the level of living in depressed agricultural areas. These programs involve youth to a great extent. Employment opportunities for young persons are stressed, but interests in this development are broad and varied. Take, for instance, one small rural county in a southern state where the local committee was convinced that the county department of public welfare had a direct contribution to make to the rural development program. The committee pointed out the lack of adoption services and the need for additional services to parents receiving public assistance. The committee also expressed the need for trained personnel in the county. Short-time and long-time goals for the county were established with each administrative agency presenting materials to help establish these goals.

Social work must seek out avenues for community planning or it will be left sitting on the side lines.

I cannot conclude without a brief look into the future. I think it calls for a coverage of child welfare services so complete that we can truly reach out to and serve all children and parents who need these services, regardless of whether they live on farms, in the central city, or in suburbia, regardless of their income, regardless of what their particular problem may be at the moment.

This demands greatly expanded services and a broadening scope of program. It means improved intake service and diagnostic skills so that children can remain in their own homes with their own parents. For those children who must be removed from their own homes it calls for specialized foster care—not just *any* institution or *any* foster home but the specialized facility that will meet the child's special need at a particular time. It makes mandatory more conscious community planning. It requires more evaluation and research in the child welfare field. But perhaps above all else it calls for workers with greater skills—skill in working with own parents; skill in relating to children and in understanding their

behavior; skill in helping new parents function in their new role; skill in handling community pressures; skill in relating to community action.

This paper began with the simple concept "a family of his own for every child." Perhaps we can search out new directions for child welfare in the future by asking ourselves over and over again this simple question: "Is it well with the child?" For if it is "well with the child" the well-being of our communities and of our nation, perhaps even of the world, can be assured.

The Essential Service in Public Assistance

by MARGUERITE GALLOWAY

MY PURPOSE IS, first, to present some facts about the public assistance programs, which constitute only a portion of the public welfare structure in the United States today; secondly, to present certain observations about the essential service in each of the five programs commonly accepted as comprising public assistance, that is, General Assistance, Old Age Assistance (OAA), Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Disabled. My observations reflect personal conclusions; they are not offered as representing the official position of the public agency with which I am associated, or of any other particular agency, public or private.

In February, 1957, more than three hundred thousand families (including single individuals) were receiving General Assistance. This figure cannot be wholly relied upon because of the sporadic and incomplete reporting both within the states and by states on a national basis. Nevertheless, we may reasonably infer that somewhere in the neighborhood of a million persons, at least, are dependent in whole or in part on this one public assistance program.

It can be assumed also that many in this group are disabled, but not disabled enough to be eligible for Aid to the Disabled in the particular state in which they live. Other families in this group have characteristics and needs identical with those receiving ADC help. Still other individuals in this group have characteristics and needs identical with those of persons receiving OAA help and Aid to the Blind.

Although the General Assistance program in the United States

is not directly affected by the provisions of the Social Security Act (because there is as yet no Federal money available to help states bear the expense of this program), General Assistance is dramatically influenced by changes in the four programs under the Act.

In February, 1957, 2.5 million people who received another form of public assistance were over 65. They are the aging, with high incidence of chronic illness, loss of family and friends, and general exclusion from employment opportunities. Over 600,000 families (including 1.7 million children under 18) were ADC recipients because of family breakdown; one or both parents had died, disappeared, or were disabled. Another 258,000 persons were identified as permanently and totally disabled. It is important to note that about 46 percent of this group were under 55 years of age, and many were heads of families. Approximately 106,000 were receiving assistance because identified as blind, and of this number 55 percent were under 65.

Here, then, is a tabulation of more than 6 million persons, identified and officially accepted as being literally and desperately dependent on financial aid from the community to enable them to meet their minimum requirements for survival.

The National Conference on Social Welfare, state welfare conferences, and other forums on social policy are continuing to show interest in, and concern about, the subject of service in public assistance. However, as of today, one finds no single point of view with regard to the character of the service component in public assistance.

One point of view holds that the granting of money is only one of the primary services in public assistance, and that additional services are not only appropriate and desirable but are essential components of the public assistance programs. Another point of view affirms that the granting of money is the single essential service in public assistance and that only those additional activities which are related directly to this primary function are appropriate components of a public assistance program.

This paper is premised on the second point of view.

Today there is special urgency in attempting to examine some of the differences of opinion, to come to some firm decisions, and

to move toward resolving the dilemma in which we find ourselves. This special urgency has been precipitated by what are generally referred to as the 1956 amendments to the Public Assistance Titles of the Social Security Act, which restate and add emphasis to the legislative authority for providing services to persons and families receiving public assistance. These are commonly referred to as the "service" amendments.

The Congress was pressed to enact these amendments by public assistance administrators throughout the country and by other leaders in the field of social work. The burden of the evidence presented was a demonstration that the characteristics of persons receiving public assistance today represent a wide range of human problems which require something more than money to solve. The evidence also pointed out that while the problems of the public assistance recipients are not dissimilar to the problems of other members of our society, they are often further compounded by the accumulated effects of financial need.

The Congress heeded the testimony presented and in late summer of 1956 amended the Social Security Act to specify that, in addition to enabling states to give financial assistance to needy people, the purpose of all four assistance programs under this Act is also to enable states to furnish services to help recipients of assistance toward independent living.

It may be necessary here to refresh our minds on the provisions of the new amendments. The amended statement in ADC emphasizes that the goal of the program is to help maintain and strengthen family life. In the OAA program the amendment delimits the goal of services as those directed toward achieving self-care, while the objectives of service stated for the programs of Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Disabled are to assist persons toward self-support as well as self-care.

State agencies are now at work trying to describe in state plans those services which they consider appropriate in each of the four programs, within the intentions of the new amendments and within the boundaries of their own state statutes. Under these 1956 amendments states will be required as of July 1, 1957, to

state in writing what services, if any, they are ready to provide in addition to financial assistance.

These provisions make implicit that the Federal Government shares in the states' costs of providing appropriate welfare services by specifying that such services are to be considered as parts of the costs of administration for which Federal matching is otherwise already available.

In December, 1956, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through the Bureau of Public Assistance called together, in Washington, a National Advisory Committee on Welfare Services to consider proposed Federal policy on "Social Services in Public Assistance." This policy is developed to guide the states in establishing services under the new amendments. Serving on the committee were thirty persons. Twenty states and New York City were represented along with representatives of six national voluntary agencies and four directors of schools of social work.

In this group, again, there could be found no single point of view on the character of the service component in the administration of public assistance. Some members of the committee were enthusiastic about the potentials in the new amendments for broadening services and for adding new services. Some were encouraged because, at last, the Federal Government had recognized the appropriateness of participating in the costs of welfare services which they believed public assistance agencies had been providing over a period of years. Others of this group believed that services in the context of the new amendments might tend to become a superstructure or an appendage to the primary function of public assistance—that of providing sufficient money to needy persons for decent and healthful living. Concern was expressed that attention to this major function will be so diluted and energies so diverted that the achievement of a more creditable level of performance of the essential public assistance service will be further delayed.

As of July 1, 1957, in the OAA program, we may expect that state plans will enumerate, among others, certain activities related to recreation, rehabilitation, and counseling as constituting

"services," all of which may mean something different in each of the fifty-three jurisdictions. These services, which are those designed to help individuals attain ability to meet the normal demands of everyday living without consistent help from others, will of necessity be described as fostering self-care.

In the program for the disabled we may expect an enumeration of the same activities established for the aged, and certain additional activities described as facilities to assist persons to achieve self-support. Some states may create, within their own public assistance structure, employment services to locate or to provide employment for the disabled. Services to the blind may be expected to feature prominently medical care, including special eye care, reeducation, and readjustment, all described as furthering the objectives of self-care and self-support.

I must observe here, parenthetically, that I am unable, in good conscience, to execute the philosophical gymnastics by which the objective of self-support becomes a valid and appropriate function of the public assistance program ministering to the permanently and totally disabled person aged fifty-five or sixty, but not a valid and appropriate function for the public assistance program ministering to the healthy, vigorous person aged sixty-five.

States will have even more difficulty defining and describing clearly services which they believe will strengthen family life. One large county has already stated that its efforts toward strengthening family life will be directed toward the following services in the ADC program: (1) rehabilitation of the incapacitated father; (2) aiding the mother in home management; (3) helping the working mother to plan for her children; (4) preservation of children's health; (5) assisting mothers to obtain help with problems of training children; and (6) assisting mothers to obtain support from absent fathers.

Questions can be raised here about whether or not all these services are designed to help strengthen family life. For instance, is assisting mothers to obtain support from absent fathers not related more to reducing the assistance payment than to strengthening family life? This is not to suggest that reduction of an assistance payment, on a valid basis, is necessarily an inappropriate activity

of the public assistance agency. But if it is appropriate, is it not inherent in, and inseparable from, the very process—the essential service itself—of providing public assistance on an effective and equitable basis?

Why do we feel impelled to dress it up with a sugar coating trademarked “strengthening family life”? Why do we need to describe it as an “extra,” a bonus or premium, a “something special”?

If “strengthening family life” is a valid objective for the agency providing public assistance, under the special label ADC, to the well mother and her well child, is it any the less valid for the agency providing public assistance, under the special label Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD), to the disabled mother and her disabled child? Just what effective substance is there in any public assistance program if it does not, by the very kind and amount of assistance it provides, and the manner of providing it, contribute directly and inexorably to the improvement of self-care, and the restoration of self-support, and the strengthening of personal, family, and community life, whenever and wherever and in whatever constellation these goals are attainable?

And this brings us to the heart of the matter.

At this time when states are considering identifying or establishing specified services which are assumed to be appropriate additions to, but not inherent in, the provision of assistance, it is important to examine how this essential service is being provided today. Federal laws and state statutes either say in clear terms or they imply that assistance is to be sufficient to protect well-being and to purchase decent healthful living. Have these objectives already been so substantially attained that the time has come to search out new fields to conquer? The evidence is irrefutably to the contrary. Nationally, we are engulfed in a state of unbelievable confusion regarding these basic principles. There is no national plan, nor even a national yardstick against which to measure the degree of attainment of state plans. This is the House that Jack Built, for lack of a national plan, and it continues to spread and sprawl bizarrely over the landscape for lack of a national yardstick. Each of the fifty-three political jurisdictions separately and indi-

vidually defines and describes the content of the assistance standard of living. While Federal agencies such as the Departments of Agriculture and Labor do develop and describe standards of living related to moderate and higher income levels, that may be used as guides, the public assistance agencies are floundering in a sea of fifty or more definitions of assistance standards.

A certain few items of living are accepted by states as basic requirements in the assistance standard of living. But at this point the similarity stops and the confusion increases because each state describes the content of the standard differently. Some states employ standards developed by governmental agencies or scientific studies and temper them by the use of consumption studies. In other states the standard is the result of the personal opinions of staff, and in others the standard is based on a combination of these methods. In many states the standard, from whatever source and by whatever method devised, is still honored more in the breach than in the observance.

In these United States with our highly integrated and far-flung systems of communication, transportation, and advertising, and with our moving population, we have boldly assumed and developed criteria based on this assumption that people in neighboring states are different—eat differently, wear different clothes, and need different kinds of shelter.

Equally complex and as widely diversified are the states' methods for determining the cost of the items in these fifty or more definitions and descriptions of the assistance standard of living. These undirected standards are subjected to a variety of fictitious maximums and arbitrary percentage reductions. These maximums and reductions are further compounded by maximum and percentage cuts among the five programs.

In fact, thirty-seven of the fifty-three jurisdictions cut the money costs of the standards of living by certain percentages before the grant is made, or they set arbitrary maximums on the amount that can be granted. For example, in one program maximums vary from \$30 a month in one state to \$112 in another.

Policies and procedures for identifying and evaluating personal and family resources vary to an even greater extent than the

methods used to measure personal need. These methods are fraught with more whims and vagaries. Agency staffs either have fragmentary guides which do not set firm policy but only invite the workers to make exceptions to the general rule, or workers are asked to use policies and procedures which are so involved and distinctions so finely drawn that it becomes almost impossible to make a simple, practical application of them.

Thus, the essential public assistance service—the provision of money—is not only imprisoned by the imaginary lines on our map, but the practical realities of it are lost through our complicated search for ways and means.

In these manifold efforts to define a needy person, we entomb the opportunity for a constructive experience for the recipient, and for creative activity by the agency, and fly off hither and thither to find it in something called "service" which cannot be defined to the satisfaction of any two individuals. The gravity of this kind of capricious administration of the primary function raises question about the wisdom of trying to define and establish additional services above and beyond those directly related to the provision of financial assistance. Until there is a national standard which describes who is a needy person, and until states accept such common standard, at least as a bench mark against which to measure the degree of fulfillment of the essential service in public assistance, public assistance agencies will continue to flounder in confusion and in their own so-called "discretion."

Perhaps we shall not be able to find a way out until we rid ourselves first, and subsequently our laws, of the means test, that is, the particular kind of highly individualized, complicated mechanisms, arithmetical and judgmental, which are today understood to be essential to a means test. Questions continue to be raised by leaders in social work and in social economics on whether any program, the services of which rest on this kind of test, can provide a firm basis of security for a person or family.

On this point Edith Abbott's voice can be heard as one crying in the wilderness. She is still asking that social workers give up the means test and make a new and unprejudiced examination of family allowance systems and alternate methods. A consideration

of a different base for determining how much a public assistance grant should be and who should receive it might stimulate all of us to take a deeper command of this primary function by adopting a reliable, objective, and dignified foundation for its fulfillment.

There is little difference in expressed opinion among administrators of public assistance about the fundamental social purposes of the five programs. The differences, however, are glaringly apparent in agency policy, its interpretation and application.

All would agree in theory that the essential service in public assistance provision of money must be so administered that the persons and families: (1) may retain their identity; (2) may continue to carry personal responsibilities; (3) may hold on to or develop confidence in themselves; and (4) may not lose confidence in their government because of the way public assistance is administered.

Persons retain their identity and continue to carry their personal responsibilities only so long as they are free to be themselves and free to make decisions. In the principles of administration upon which the policies of an agency are said to be based, there is enunciated time and time again the statement that "the client is free to spend his money as he sees fit." Does agency policy, its interpretation, and application leave the person receiving assistance free to spend his money as he believes best for him? Is he free to plan for his future? Is he free to save money if he can? Does the agency provide assistance in such a way that the recipient is free to use his money to buy gifts for his family and friends as other citizens do?

An honest review of agency policy and the day-by-day application of policy directly related to the provision of assistance may not support our affirmation that we are holding to the principles we so glibly enunciate. It is not easy, at times, to respect the ideas, standards, behavior, and personal relationships of another person and to accept these as reasonable and right for him when they seem to be so different from our own. The agency's responsibility is for its own behavior, and the heart of proficiency in this respect

is a mastership of ourselves as public servants in our relationships with those whom we serve.

One expects from one's government respect. One expects from one's government full and accurate information given quickly and in a way which is understood, whether one is making application for a health service, an educational opportunity, or a welfare service. One also expects help in knowing what he must do to be able to use the service and what the government will do in return.

Most important of all, one needs help from his government in knowing how to use this public assistance service, not helping him to be eligible, nor trying to disqualify him, but providing a positive experience in which he has an opportunity to examine its usefulness to him. This requires that the agency present the service of financial assistance in a manner that engages the recipient as a person who has capacity to carry adult responsibilities and has a right to exercise adult prerogatives. In this process, the public assistance worker must understand and be able to deal with a wide range of human reactions. As there is understanding and awareness of the human personalities involved, anxiety and fear subside, and only then is the applicant or recipient able to reject the service with full understanding, or use it to his best interest.

A. Delafield Smith says

I came at last, somewhat dramatically, to conclude that if that most fundamental of our constitutional guarantees, that test of all justice, the equal protection of the laws, were ever actually applied to social programs, the whole field of public welfare would soon be revolutionized. The significance of the individual, idealized by social science, might then be on the road to realization.¹

Service in public assistance, if it exists at all, is embedded in the primary, essential content of the public assistance program itself. It is inseparable from concepts of administration. It permeates and controls the organization, the policy, and the decisions of the agency. Either it is present or it is not. It is a vital entity that loses its true significance in the process of dismemberment.

¹ A. Delafield Smith, *The Right to Life* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), pp. 5-6.

Community Planning and National Agency Services

by *THELMA SHAW*

LOCAL COMMUNITY PLANNING is part of our American tradition. Coming together to plan resulted in our independence as a nation, our Bill of Rights, our Federal Government, and in social change that has shaped all of our lives.

Though we have particularly excelled in planning in the realm of science, technical skills, and in industry, we have a long way to go in the development of the art of social cooperation. Perhaps our greatest risk is that we have been the victim of preconceptions; that our thinking has lacked flexibility; that we so often wait until a crisis occurs before we cope with the situations that gave rise to it. There are those cynical souls who say that though there are countless individuals capable of vast loyalty, integrity, and courage, there is not in actual and real operation, anywhere in the world, a group conscience—assuming conscience to be, if not the source, at least the filter, for the determination of right and wrong. “What point is there in setting up a world government,” these cynics say, “only to have it crack up because man lacks the collective conscience necessary to operate it?” I refuse to believe, yet, that man is doomed to be the victim of his lack of planning, but I do believe that the indispensable and ultimate objective we must constantly work for, whenever and wherever we can, is the development and refinement of a collective conscience—which is the very essence of social planning. For without it, no real sense of the community can come about either in a restrictive or a world-wide sense.

The evolution in America of a sense of the community—or a

collective conscience, or social planning, that results in the voluntary joining together to collect and to face facts, to study, to plan, and to take cooperative action on behalf of human well-being—as we know it today did not emerge full blown. It has been marked through the years by various stages of what may be called the gentle art of “boosting”—that cooperative encouragement and reciprocal hypnosis which are in a sense peculiar to our native land.

In our time we have seen gradually developing, from pioneer, individualistic, haphazard, and unrelated beginnings, a swing toward unity and cooperation in which there is a pooling of information, resources, effort, and methods, all brought to bear upon discovering and meeting human needs. In most communities, a community welfare council (known by various names) is usually the main channel for whatever organized social planning exists. Parenthetically, it is a revealing commentary that recent statistics from United Community Funds and Councils of America show 2,000 chests or united funds in the United States and Canada, and only 461 planning councils. Obviously, wherever there is organized effort directed to the raising of money, there should be intelligent planning directed toward wiser spending of money. However, in spite of room for improvement, I do not believe it can be denied that the quality and performance of community planning councils are pretty generally improving, as well as the attitude of the general public concerning their possibilities and the role of the lay citizen in their operation and programs.

Surely, we have seen helpful changes of attitude toward planning on the part of the majority of local social agencies and their nationals. These agencies bring real initiative, leadership, and knowledge to our planning processes. However, for one reason or another, there is still an appalling amount of agency isolationism. We have also seen a trend toward social planning on a state basis, and in spite of many road blocks there is an ever increasing amount of travel on the rough and rocky road toward national planning. Sometimes, as I view the traffic on this route and note some of the breakdowns, repairs, and even fatalities that occur, I am reminded of a sign that is said to be posted near the beginning of an obscure road that stretches out across the prairies of the

Middle West: "Choose Your Rut Carefully, you will be in it for the next 500 miles." Perish the thought that we will stay too long in the rut of apathy and indifference to the necessity for a new and more concerted attack on our social ills! I do not mean to sound pessimistic; for we truly have come a long way in recognizing the inescapable relationship of individual communities and their problems to those of other communities all over our nation and our world.

As we are all aware, the Health and Welfare Planning Department of United Community Funds and Councils serves their constituency on matters of local planning, and the National Social Welfare Assembly (the national counterpart of a local planning council) gives aid and assistance on national planning. Though underfinanced and understaffed, both are doing a remarkable job. Various kinds of social planning go on under other auspices, of course, but these two channels will provide our present frame of reference. It is mainly through these two national bodies, co-operating whenever feasible on mutual objectives, with the help of local councils and national agencies, that slowly and sometimes painfully, these principles are becoming recognized:

1. Social planning, to be effective, must be indivisible, integrated, and total.
2. National forces and developments must be accepted as matters of state and local concern and action.
3. Local and state problems and experiences must be known and utilized in all national planning.
4. Local, state, and national planning have common stakes in human welfare, even though each may see the cause and cure of problems and needs in different aspects.

If these principles are widely accepted, it will be possible to work out procedures to implement them. But unless they are, local planning groups will continue to face the national hurdles of agency noncooperation and separation and the national agencies and planning groups, the hurdles of local coercion, penny-pinching control, and narrow provincialism. The "horse-and-buggy" strategy of social planning went out long ago. The evolving machinery of

social planning has many parts, and they must intermesh and run smoothly together. Though these parts have varied and diverse functions, they must ultimately be reconciled to going in one direction, if the vehicle is to reach any agreed-upon destination in its pursuit of common objectives.

Of course, there is a great temptation to create in a planning council a fine community organization machine which we expect to carry us automatically across all obstacles. It is easy to forget that even a machine needs a goodly number of well-qualified people to service it, others with different skills to steer it, and on many occasions, still others, equally capable, to get out and give it a great big push.

And in this connection national agencies can be and are very powerful allies.

Cutting across all the differences among our American institutions, our religious, political, and social organizations, is our agreement on the fundamental philosophy of democracy. Our national agencies are a profound expression of our desire to make life better for individual human beings, not just by mitigating or ameliorating certain existing circumstances of accident or adversity, or the injustices of our economic system, but by attacking the basic causes of these difficulties. It is not surprising, therefore, that we have so many national agencies that reflect, through their programs, their personnel both lay and professional, their acceptance of responsibility, their willingness to share in planning for better services to people, the degree to which they are effective instruments of our democracy.

National agencies are needed, either to give local communities the help they can derive from association in a national body, or because certain needs can best be met by national effort. At the same time, we know that the best national programs are responsive to expressed local problems and to local leadership.

The 1957 *Social Work Year Book*¹ lists some 354 voluntary national and 59 Federal agencies functioning in one or more parts

¹ Russell H. Kurtz, ed., *Social Work Year Book, 1957* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957).

of the welfare field, and rare is the national agency which is unrelated in some way to some form of constituency in local communities.

Relationships around services, financial support, policy, and planning are varied and complicated. Local planning processes among agencies and the influence of national agency policies and standards are also varied and complicated.

Problems are inherent in these different patterns of local-national relationships. In local planning it is difficult to take adequate and timely account of ever changing national forces and developments. It is also difficult to find effective ways of bringing local situations and experience to bear on national planning. Reasons for these difficulties center around mutual participation and consent as the actual basis of relationships, without undue compulsion being used. However, differences among agencies (both national and local), like those in our own culture, can bring added richness to community services. Another problem in local-national relationships is that of communication. Distances are great; personalities involved cannot always participate when decisions are made; channels of communication are inadequate; written words are susceptible to varying interpretations and points of view. Nevertheless, communication is necessary to sound planning on any level.

Pervading so many aspects of community planning is the human element. There is often an unwillingness for organizations and agencies and communities to submit to dispassionate self-analysis. Some of the elements within them talk "cooperation" when what they mean is "domination." In some communities, voluntary and governmental agencies may be at sword's point (though this is less and less true); hospitals may be in flagrant competition; specialized agencies sometimes divide time between tracking down their specialties and cutting each other's fiscal throats. Chambers of commerce and city governments, community welfare councils and united funds or chests, sometimes feud years on end.

But good sense and actual experience tell us that the very base of the pyramid of our welfare services is a central planning body that can provide a piece of common ground where, in democratic

fashion, all the people concerned can come together to look at the whole community's needs, to evaluate services, and to reconcile differences, as an orderly and balanced program is sought and priorities are set on steps necessary for going a better job.

Because I needed help on this assignment, I wrote to a number of national agencies and local community welfare councils asking for their comments. The response was prompt and wonderful, and I am grateful.

I wish it were possible to reproduce every letter, but here are "quotes" from a representative few:

1. *From a national agency concerned with recreation:*

Though functions vary in accordance with purpose and type of structure, national agencies usually maintain these responsibilities:

1. Development of agency organization and structure
2. Initiation and development of policy as a guide to local affiliates
3. Recruiting, training, orientation, and evaluation of personnel
4. Field consultation or service to local units
5. Research
6. Public relations
7. Fund-raising and fiscal analysis
8. Planning and program development
9. Consultation on construction and maintenance of physical plants.

Local planning involves the utilization of these resources. Some of the problems which arise center around:

1. Adequate communication
2. Effective use of field consultation
3. Appropriate evaluation of local program and staff
4. Problems related to the acceptance and utilization of national policies by local affiliates.

2. *From a federation of sectarian agencies:*

As we see it, our national agency brings to local planning the benefits of the totality and an overview of national experience as well as the perspective which comes from continuity of service. It also provides specialized skills and techniques in the planning process, and offers leadership stimulation in the development of new services to meet changing community conditions and serves as the sounding post for local communities in regard to trends and developments which have implications for change or innovation.

The national agency also makes a significant contribution through

board and staff institutes and resource materials in relation to various aspects of local planning.

I am sure you have given thought to the problems that arise where there is concern about maintaining the autonomy of the local agency. We are sensitive to the way we render our services and relate ourselves to the local community both from the national and regional field offices.

3. From the public welfare point of view:

We think that some of the services of value to local planning include:

Conducting surveys, developing definitions, standards, and recommendations for good practice in various areas, such as identification of program content in child welfare services, medical care, etc.

Statements of job content of various positions are also helpful as are suggestions for model legislation, such as the Standard Juvenile Court Act. Technical and professional publications are also useful.

We believe that one of our services is the forum in which new ideas and experiences may be exchanged among local agencies having the same interests and problems. Some cohesiveness may also be given to the field so that points of common agreement can have more effect in the total picture.

4. From the health field:

An elementary consideration to give the greatest service to local planning is to provide facilities whereby the national organizations can exchange ideas and information and to develop through this process an understanding of the problems faced by state and local planning groups.

We recognize that health improvement will be largely dependent on individual action by citizens stimulated by purposeful activity in the local community. It is for this reason that the national health agencies are encouraging each other to have their local affiliates participate in state and local health planning bodies.

In recognition of the fact that there are agencies in the health field which endeavor to raise their support through independent campaigns and which are not prepared to join in federated fund raising, and in recognition of the fact that efforts to improve community health involve many more important questions than how voluntary funds are raised, it is important to emphasize and reemphasize that planning together for community health improvement does not necessarily involve federated fund-raising. If this fact can be recognized it would be mutually advantageous to both sides of the federated fund-raising question.

5. From a federation of voluntary agencies:

The staff of our National Federation has always regarded the staff of the local welfare council as professional colleagues who are equally concerned with us in maintaining high standards of work on the part of our local affiliates. Because they have more frequent contacts with our local affiliates than our small staff is able to have, we look to them for reports of situations that need our attention and furnish them all the materials and information we have which may be helpful to them in giving consultative service to our affiliates.

Our most unpleasant experiences—and they are quite rare—occur when a local welfare council staff person, or committee, or community chest budget committee, acts on the assumption that a settlement or neighborhood center ought to be a different kind of agency, such as an ethnic cultural center, or a center serving only one age group, etc.

We rarely find ourselves impelled to work in a different direction than the local welfare councils in respect to one of our member agencies. When this does happen it is usually a temporary situation and not a characteristic of the relationship.

6. From national agencies in the character-building field:

a) Our agencies are sensitive to and subject to the control of a majority of our local units.

b) Through our nation-wide research and experience local programs are enriched and vitalized.

c) Our tried and tested programs are added insurance to the community that its money is not being wasted.

d) Through national agencies thousands of citizens find opportunity to work with other citizens in common cause, thus contributing to the unity of the nation in the extension of local horizons and stretching of local minds—sometimes a painful process but valuable none the less. National agencies are run by people and therefore subject to error but so are local communities. These errors can be reduced and the values of national agencies strengthened if we can improve our system of communication.

7. From a large governmental agency:

It is the responsibility of the national agencies both public and voluntary to establish channels of communication so that local agencies can be advised of national objectives. National agencies themselves must be in communication with each other, so that they will be in a position to advise local affiliates of national objectives for the pro-

gram related to theirs. The nature of public agencies is such that they are handicapped in the interpretive role, and voluntary agencies can be of particular help in keeping locals informed on developments in governmental agencies and explaining the program to local groups.

There is a lot of room for local initiative and inventiveness in local planning. I would not want to see local planning unduly influenced by national developments so as to create an undesirable uniformity in local agency programs. In fact, I would like to see the channel of communication more of a two-way channel so that we of the national agencies can be fully and promptly informed of useful ideas locally.

8. From another federation of sectarian agencies:

The time has come for us to face the question of what roles social agencies are playing in dealing with the enormously complex problems facing us in the American community. At best, they are playing a very limited role. When confronted with these problems they will say that they are outside their area, or that they are highly controversial, or that they have to confine themselves to a more limited sphere. I do not believe social agencies should take such a pessimistic role. I believe that we have in the American community, even in the so-called "disorganized community," a tremendous potential. The time has come for a mobilization of all the forces in the block and in the neighborhood, but it must involve all groups—all the people. The people must be encouraged to get together to meet their own problems. This calls for a new type of personnel, a new type of leadership. As people discover their problems, they will also recognize their limitations. They will know the place of the expert, but it may be necessary to introduce a new type of person between the expert and the people. He is the type who is not too far removed from the people. A master of the art of communicating with them—a mediator between the people and the experts. I know I am calling for radical changes in the structure of American social work but I think such changes are long overdue.

And now for some opinions from community welfare councils:

1. From a large industrial center:

National agencies need to tackle the \$64,000 questions: How much help do people need? What kinds of services do communities need and where should they be located? This problem needs to be approached not only from the point of view of an individual agency but from the point of view of the many agencies serving a given field. The local planning body cannot tackle these problems alone, and certainly we

want to avoid working at cross purposes with the national agencies. Interwoven into this problem is the matter of balancing rugged agency individualism with cooperative community planning.

The programs of national agencies might be geared a little more closely to some of the needs of local planning bodies. For example, currently in the health field we are trying to decide if there should be a League for Emotionally Disturbed Children, an Association for Retarded Children, a Mental Health Society, Child Guidance Clinic, and so on. While I realize that the specific answers will vary with each community, it might be helpful if there were some guides as to when and under what conditions a community should create and support specialized programs within a given field.

2. From a large community in the Far West:

Perhaps it is because our Welfare Planning Council is across the country from the fountainhead of national agency knowledge, i.e., New York City, that from my observation little use seems to have been made of the personnel of national agencies.

Things which find their way into print are sought after and used.

I imagine that in the East, where council executives, divisional directors, research directors, etc., have more of an opportunity to get personally acquainted with the central staffs of the national agencies, people from these staffs are more frequently asked to sit in at the inception of major local planning projects.

Out here, some use is made of the regional people, but these people are covering tremendous areas and are not always available.

The chief blocks to establishing wider participation in local planning may be as follows:

1. Local planning has to work on its own time schedule and not the time schedule of national agency staff; consequently, national agency people are frequently not available.

2. I suspect that occasionally, at least, the local divisional director of a planning council wants to be the "expert" and while quite willing to use advice from afar, doesn't see the necessity of sharing leadership with a national agency representative.

3. Dollar costs and time are handicaps in the parts of the country distant from national agency headquarters.

4. There is an inclination to wait until the decision is made to have a full-blown "study" before calling in a national agency, when some better answer might have been found had the best possible experience been brought to bear on the problem in the beginning.

5. Planning councils are made up of local leaders, and it is natural that sometimes they don't even think of including a regional repre-

sentative of a national agency when they see them so seldom and have no idea as to when their schedule permits them to be in the area.

I don't believe there is any particular resistance against national agencies in the local planning setups, but except on the very big undertakings, they do not seem to be used as a matter of habit. While I do not know, I would suspect that oftentimes their advice and help are not sought by correspondence when this would be useful.

Most certainly, very few national agencies inform local planning bodies of their long-term aims and changing goals until policies have "jelled" and then are often offered to the country as a statement of what is to be. Very seldom do national agencies consult local planning bodies in determining major changes of policy. Perhaps it is natural to work through their own branches in this regard, but objective community viewpoints could often be obtained to advantage.

3. From a recently organized council in a small southern city:

There is one group of agencies which is closely tied to their national organization. Often the national policies govern the programs of the local affiliates to the point where local autonomy is sometimes nonexistent.

There are times when these local affiliates feel that they have no obligation to the community other than fulfilling the minimum requirements of their national agency. This makes for problems in local planning in that there is often little incentive for the local group to move beyond the minimum of services as required by its national organization. But all in all, it is my opinion that such affiliations with national agencies more often than not lend strength to the planning on a local level.

4. From a large Mid-Western city:

The national agency services are, of course, extremely valuable in promoting extension of local services and maintaining or improving standards.

However, certain national agencies make such a fetish of extension of local work in their field that they sometimes lost sight entirely of the value of other types of health and welfare work. In other words, they push unreasonably at times for developments in their one field to the degree that their national service is not of value to the local community.

Moreover, they sometimes evolve national policies in Washington, New York, or Chicago by a process of deductive reasoning and try to superimpose those policies on every community, though they sometimes may not apply.

Also, some national agencies are so anxious to maintain friendly arrangements, or perhaps financial support, in a local community that they "pussyfoot" when they should come out definitely for efficient personnel or proper standards even though such a stand may antagonize their local agency executive or board.

Although I believe that on occasion more than one national agency has evinced each of the foibles which I have mentioned, yet most national agencies, most of the time, have excellent leadership, are fairly courageous and socially minded, with a broad appreciation of health and welfare services. It helps when national agencies encourage their locals to participate positively in local planning and to pass on to their nationals the local situation and viewpoint.

5. From the East Coast:

On the whole, the objectives of our local community welfare council and of national agencies are in harmony. Both strive to improve standards of service and achieve as adequate coverage of needs as possible. The council frequently calls upon national agencies for help on these matters, and, conversely, the national agencies have a right to expect the council to give them solid backing in helping to maintain and improve the services of its local affiliates.

Obviously, there are other situations where the objectives and also the methods of the local council and a national agency are in conflict. This is particularly true of a highly promotional agency that goes into the community and gets well-meaning groups steamed up about establishing a new agency or service without any clearance at all through the council. Where the council is strong, the lay people invariably channel the matter to the council, and the national agency then tends to resist the whole idea of community-wide decision on the basis of over-all needs, existing services of other agencies, etc.

It is only fair to say that national agencies are sometimes quite justifiably critical of some local planning bodies and also some fundraising bodies on the grounds that they strive to be power groups stifling agency growth or are too protective of the status quo.

When the council is mature, when it is really a citizens' organization with informed lay leadership, and, on the other hand, when the national agency has a philosophy of program development in relation to need and is mature enough to practice clearance with a broader community-wide group, rather than taking unilateral action, then there is every reason to hope for cooperation and achievement.

I cannot here comment on the significance of these excerpts. I can only hope that we shall continue the candid examination of

present methods and the conscious search for more effective working relationships between planning councils and national agencies. I am confident that further exploration of new and revised patterns of operation, new lines of communication among a larger number of individuals and groups, will point the way toward a more fruitful, flexible, and resourceful community planning.

I would never want to overestimate the performance or the potential of a planning council but I think we have been a bit overcautious in the recognition of its possibilities, the reporting of its successes, oftentimes creating a negative and uncertain impression.

Sometimes it seems that our councils use several hundred hours of the time of very busy people to reach a decision of little importance. Why cannot more councils and national agencies, together, come to grips with big, basic, community issues and make long-range plans paralleling those made in the economic and physical development of our cities? This is supposed to be the age of planning. The architect bends over his blueprint for rebuilding a neighborhood; the medical researcher labors over his test tubes and plans miracle cures for disease; electronic scientists plan trips to outer space. Councils and agencies make plans too. Let them be no little plans! For they concern our greatest assets—our men and women, our children, our families, our older people. This planning too can be long-range, adventurous, successful.

This we know: social planning cannot be imposed by political controls, by legislation, or by directive. It must spring from inner compulsion and desires. Though cooperative techniques at all possible levels of activity must be assiduously cultivated and practiced, good planning can move no faster than the motives, the understanding, and the philosophy of the majority of our citizens. It can flourish best when there is a willingness and an opportunity to share in the warmth of a common endeavor of lending a hand to our community services that mean so much to so many.

It is said that there are four things we can do with our hands:

We can wring them. There is a lot of hand-wringing today as we hear about the countless woes that beset us in "this age of anxiety." I grant you we are in an "age of anxiety." But one thing that makes it so is the to-do we make about anxiety itself. It is

enough to have things to worry about without worrying over the fact that we are worrying. It is bad enough to face some real and possibly desperate alternatives without crying havoc before havoc has come. Hand-wringing never has helped anybody. The best antidote to anxiety is activity.

We can fold our hands. This is easy and is, perhaps, why so many people do it. Francis Bacon said, "In the theater of human-life, it is only for God and the Angels to be spectators." Apathy is unthinkable now.

We can lift our hands in prayer. By doing this we are making a channel through which God's power can come into the community through us.

Finally, we can put our hands to work. The community is fortunate which has both professional and lay citizens willing and able to lay their hands to the tasks that need to be done, and to keep their hands on these tasks until they have seen them through.

Professional Teamwork¹

by FREDERICK A. WHITEHOUSE

THERE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTS by each profession to keep unified with, and related to, other professions by the tonic of research, but the specialization has moved too fast. We need not seek an antidote to specialization but we do need to increase the absorption of its fresh elements. The remedy may lie in a new synthesis composed of ingredients contributed by all professions. One good prescription may be teamwork—and in this paper I am referring chiefly to the clinical interprofessional team rather than to the community team or the intraprofessional team.

What is teamwork?

For a definition I quote from my first paper:

Teamwork . . . is a close, cooperative, democratic, multiprofessional union devoted to a common purpose—the best treatment for the fundamental need of the individual. Its members work thru a combined and integrated diagnosis; flexible, dynamic planning; proper timing and sequence of treatment; and balance in action. It is an organismic group distinct in its parts yet acting as a unit, i.e., no important action is taken by members of one profession without the consent of the group. Just as the individual acts as an interrelated whole, and not as a sum of his characteristics, so must the professions act, think, interpret, and contribute toward a diagnosis which is the product of all, and a treatment plan which is dynamic to accommodate the changes which a dynamic human organism is constantly making.²

We probably cannot trace back to the first moment when man found it wise to join in counsel with his fellows. It is evident that such opportunity came within the family circle initially. Locating

¹ This paper does not necessarily reflect the official view of the American Heart Association, with which the author is associated.

² Frederick A. Whitehouse, "Teamwork—a Democracy of Professions," *Exceptional Children*, XVIII (1951), 46.

in time the original clinical application of the principle is also a difficult task. It seems likely that a hospital setting provided the first approach with an intraprofessional medical team.

In modern practice the clinical interprofessional team which includes specialists covering the medical, social, psychological, vocational, and economic areas seems to have come into being at the Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, in New York City, about a quarter of a century ago. As long ago as 1940, there were seven or eight members on its team. Incidentally, its inception did not arise because someone developed a "teamwork concept," but because the pressure of arranging a program which included an increasing number of services forced the group to synchronize its activities. This gradually led to question, discussion, and education, and later recognition that in addition to scheduling, coordination of services was being obtained. Unfortunately, this simple concept of "coordination of services" still seems to be the level of operation of many teams.

A number of contributing movements have led to the formation of team operations. These trends may be arbitrarily divided into political, intellectual, and professional influences.

Political influence. Our political heritage has been a significant one. The growth of our democracy through the town meeting where people came to talk over their problems and to work them out together has been the foundation of our subsequent philosophical development. This commonality of purposes and goals and the security that lies in faith in each other resulted in a strong belief in democracy as a realistic and effective principle of cooperative action.

No other quality, it seems to me, is more essential for teamwork than the need for a democratic philosophy—an equality of status and maximum individual freedom. Constructive effort, communion with others, and devotion to an ideal are not fostered by patterns of domination. If academic freedom is vital, equally so is clinical freedom; for we also are seeking the truth, and serving human beings as well.

Intellectual influence. From an intellectual standpoint, we find that many parallel actions in human affairs have utilized a team approach. In industry, government, and education we find

increasing application of a team to the larger, complex problems. The hypothesis that through the creation of a specific opportunity competent people representing the specialized sides of a problem will exchange opinions and develop consensual decisions has been proved effective under a host of conditions and circumstances. Not only have such conclusions been in most cases superior to unilateral judgments, but many problems would not have been recognized or solved without such means for the consideration and evaluation of all the pertinent variables. It is indeed an operation on a higher intellectual and professional level than one limited professional could produce with the relatively simple experience and training which may be acquired in one specialty.

Professional influence. We can see as well the increasing ability of agencies to correlate their activities in a community teamwork scheme. While far from reaching full development, improvement in such a method has been gaining ground. Furthermore, a successful clinical team requires as a resource the efficient community team.

While the professional trend toward medical teams has been advancing for years, the impact of a broader concept of responsibility, with a special emphasis on the "whole man," accentuated by rehabilitation, has made a more comprehensive approach an eminently desirable one. Rehabilitation supplied a vital key to the fulfillment of this treatment ideal with its stress on the importance of employment as an economic and biotherapeutic goal necessary both to the individual and to the community. The engagement of the individual's mind, body, and spirit in constructive living must be the aim of all treatment.

Another important element has been the increase of specialization, which has forced the specialist to recognize the need to augment his opinion by combining and exchanging knowledge with others.

However, what I conceive to be the most important factor has been the growth of professional maturity—a combination of intellectual honesty, recognition of self-limitations, and a refinement of ethics. We now know how naïve, hasty, and uncritical much of professional treatment has been in the past and sometimes still is,

when the individual is served by our artificial, contrived, one-dimensional professions. We now realize that the way to solve human problems is comprehensively. The moment of contact with any professional treatment must spark an attempt to solve the problem as fully and as fundamentally as possible, with a lifetime dimension. The individual who requires attention must not be left to prolong and aggravate his condition as he wanders through his community in the wilderness of uncorrelated treatment paths. It is only by a definitive and fundamental method that this situation may be remedied. We need a comprehensive effort because pennies spent early, will avoid dollars spent later. We need a comprehensive approach because every human being has the right to achieve fulfillment regardless of his level of contribution. We may approximate this ideal through as high a level of team operation as we can bring to bear.

Consequently, the significance of our democratic political heritage, and the further extension of democratic principles into full opportunity for adequate health and welfare; our basic professional assumptions about the wholeness of man; the manifest importance of prevention; the contributions of research in group participation; recognition of the value of fundamental, definitive treatment and its humane and economic soundness; the rapid growth of specialization and a rise in professional maturity make teamwork a logical and necessary method.

There are so many kinds of teams that a mere enumeration would be too lengthy. Variation depends upon the purpose, setting, focus, and nature of the team; upon the structure and constitution of the team as well as upon the level of operation. To cite a few examples: we may have a medical, nursing, psychiatric, or rehabilitation team. They may meet in social agency, private quarters, hospital, or rehabilitation center. The personnel may be relatively stable, rotating, or assembled *ad hoc*. The team may be clinical, community, or interagency, intra- or interdisciplinary. It may be a diagnostic and/or treatment team. Meetings may be on a regular, irregular, or special-occasion basis. Case load, time available, and opportunity for communication may vary widely. A team may locate permanently or operate itinerantly.

The dimension with which I am most concerned is the level of team operation, the quality of the function. I would arbitrarily classify four levels, realizing that many variations and combinations exist. The least effective may be designated as contributing, followed by cooperative, integrative, and organismic.

Since the limitations of this paper will not permit full justification or description of each level, I shall briefly contrast the contributing level, the lowest, and the organismic level, the highest. Perhaps one should add that few teams are as poor as those on the contributing level and even fewer as good as those classified on the organismic level.

Contributing level. The contributing level team often has a pervading authoritarian philosophy and a leader to match. Organizationally, it has a hierarchial structure. The administrator sees the team as an assembly of various professionals whose function is to contribute reports and to inform him of their professional opinions. It may be an incomplete team, missing some important aspects of human assessment, and its members have been selected mostly on a basis of representing a profession, rather than securing the right kind of professional person.

The case load is overly large, perhaps to the breaking point of good service. An undercurrent of hostility is evidenced toward the client unless he is amenable and shows rapid progress. Screening of cases may be done by one professional only. The factor of physical severity is overvalued in the measurement of total case severity. Some clients may be handled completely by one profession since it may be claimed that no other service is needed. Often only those directly concerned with the case are invited to attend the conference, and sometimes not all of these if the leader feels they are not needed.

There is substantial turnover of personnel on the team. One major reason is frustration, an inability to do one's job with any freedom; another cause may be the cliques that form as a result of the poor organizational structure, with a battle for position in the hierarchy.

Meetings are irregular and formal. The setting is a crowded one, perhaps also noisy and uncomfortable, with the seats facing

the leader in classroom fashion. Reports are frequently highly technical, as an expression of hostility and defensiveness. There is much self-justification and attempts to preserve the status of each profession. What little discussion there is, goes chiefly between the leader and the team members. Traps are set for the incautious by those who withhold information until the denouement. By tacit agreement, few questions may be asked since they might be considered an indication of some lack of understanding on the part of the questioner. A client may be brought before the group in a "bug on a pin" fashion—he may find his personal attributes being discussed in "public." The competitive attitude unconsciously encouraged by the dominating leader may cause frequent argument with ensuing bitterness. Members sometimes withdraw from the struggle, not wishing to be a party to the unprofessional competition.

Decisions are relatively static in the sense that swift settlement is sought and reassessments seldom made. Cases are closed out abruptly without a final evaluation. Planning is focused on the immediate, balancing, in a sense, the previous sketchy case history of the client.

Beyond the meeting there is little activity other than that of the individual professional operation. Some members consciously resolve to pursue their professional duties with scant thought of the so-called "team" (in reality, leader) decision. Communication is by formal memo, and there is little social exchange between members. Self-examination of the team process or investigation of new leads through experimentation by the team is considered time-consuming and unnecessary.

This is a dark picture. Nevertheless, most clients are served by this type of team beyond what any one profession could accomplish because a variety of services is given. Moreover, there is some professional growth involved which eventually may make all the team members better practitioners. Essentially, however, the authoritarian dominance and the lack of a common high level philosophy are the chief reasons for its limited attainments.

Organismic level. The team on this level is immediately recognized by its democratic, free, open, and varying leadership. Any

member may chair the group, or there may be a group-selected chairman to aid the team in some of its more formal functioning or for special purposes. More important is the philosophy held by the members of the group. Each one is first of all a clinician who feels a responsibility to the client's problems that supersedes his professional calling. The client is a complex, idiosyncratic person who requires consideration as an individual, a family member, and a community component. In his previous unilateral experience each team member had attempted to be fully responsible for all phases of the case; now this responsibility is shared. While a profession may seem to be narrower since there are several overlapping areas with one's own, actually each profession is expanded into every other one; for each member has the responsibility of interpreting the implications of his opinion to the others. This maximum interpenetration is not so much a physical interstratification, or an interweaving, or a "wheel concept" relationship, as it is a chemically reactive fluid one.

In other words, an original professional opinion is but a temporary position until all the modifiers are related. The result is that a new creation comes into being which is a higher professional one than could be achieved alone. When the series of revised opinions are then joined in concert, a consensual decision is reached. This in turn is translated into a fluid plan which seeks to describe the most effective means for the timing and sequence of treatment, the check points that will be set up, and the unknowns yet to be clarified. The real implication of this is that the finest teamwork does not occur at the conference; it occurs as each member carries out his special assignment, utilizing his professional tools with a full appreciation of the team opinion. This awareness modifies his action commensurate with the team decision.

Perhaps an example will illustrate this point. Let us suppose you are a social worker and the team has met, decided, and planned. Your client is coming to you for counsel. You view him now in a different framework than you did in your first interview. The things he said about his family, his job, his feelings, gain more meaning and significance. You realize now that he has overestimated the value of his vocational experience. His physical disa-

bility, you recognize, in reality is less severe than his own description, appearance, and the referral information may have implied. Your estimate of his intellectual capacity has been clarified, and his special abilities have been delineated into specific areas of competence or relative incompetence by the psychologist and the vocational counselor. The client's personality structure has been further interpreted by your own opinion and that of the psychiatrist and psychologist. You know surgery may be in the offing for him, but that further investigation by the psychiatrist and the physical therapist will take precedence. You know that although your client has spoken of his concern for a job, this determination will be delayed somewhat because of the views of the vocational counselor and occupational therapist. Your client must first rediscover himself in a realistic practical medium where he will be faced with the challenge of applying himself to a simulated or actual work environment. You know that the occupational therapist will report whatever will bear reference for you—not only her specific occupational therapy findings, but other observations, the import of which she may not fully comprehend for your area. Her findings, however, may be significant to you or be made more significant by another member's comment. You have had what seems to be some difference of opinion with the psychologist and you have already planned to clarify this together. The result may mean further exploration by either one, or by both. Later, after your session with the client, you will try to observe what he does in physical therapy in order better to understand how he applies the motivation you believe he has.

The implications are endless and will vary with the passing days. You are surely infinitely more capable of applying your professional tools than you ever could be in another setting. The total progress of the client makes you happy even though your part may seem relatively small. You know more accurately what progress you are making with the client, not only on the basis of his expressed realizations and your insight, but by the way in which he applies himself to the numerous challenges available to him.

What I have just related is not merely theory. Perhaps some of my own experiences will tend to convey this. I never really lost

the excitement I felt at my first team meetings. It was almost like a wonderful dream where answers and solutions came like magic. Of course, they did not always come that easily, but now I saw why I had felt so many vague questions about my work in the past, questions about clients that could not be articulated because of limited knowledge. In the team approach one rediscovers his own profession, seeing its dimensions and limitations and reconstituting its values in a new light. The team member knows that having been touched by the process, he can never return to a confined intellectual framework without serious challenge to his ethical ideals of service to a human being.

Sometimes a client seemed a hopeless case to certain team members, but, as the days passed, as progress was reported, the feeling of accomplishment became tremendous. We began to have enormous confidence in what might be attained in the building or reconstruction of a life through our combined efforts. We learned to glean the hidden clues which team insight assembled, a task which previous solitary professionals had considered hopeless. We began to approach all difficult cases with optimism. Team members became close partners in a compelling enterprise. We depended on each other in a rather extraordinary way and, perhaps, at times too much, until we began to learn about the limitations of other professions as well. We reflected upon the inadequacy of our previous training. Why had not our schooling given us some of this? Well, the educator is doing something about it now, but far too little and advances are slow.

It is difficult to "observe" teams since much of the process takes place before and after the team conference. One needs to work on a team if he is to understand its functioning, and then, perhaps, some of his objectivity would be destroyed.

What makes a good team?

A good team may be noted for: (1) a common philosophy stemming from a whole-person commitment and a faith in the method; (2) the democratic nature of its leadership and its administrative setting; (3) the isonomy or equality of its status pattern; (4) the form of its clinical freedom; and (5) the extent of its maturity.

A good team provides: (1) opportunity for communication and

for communing; (2) specific sessions for self-examinations of its process and mutual educative exchange; (3) a realistic setting for client testing, trial, and observation; and (4) full and sufficient time for the client to respond and progress.

A good team is characterized by: (1) freedom of discussion; (2) consensuality of its decisions; (3) good personal relations between members; (4) respect for opinions and sufficient accommodation for minor differences; (5) provision for research; (6) flexible and dynamic planning; (7) the interpretative nature of its reporting; (8) careful selection and stability; (9) experience in the process; and (10) the life-term architecture of its projection.

Teamwork, must be seen most importantly as a philosophy rather than a means, method, or practice. Teamwork philosophy should permeate all treatment services. And a philosophy is the motivating force which can determine the direction, quality, and effectiveness of a practice.

Characteristics of Social Group Work

by CLARA A. KAISER

I SHALL ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY and explore some distinguishing characteristics of social group work as one of the branches of social work practice. I have chosen the word "distinguishing" rather than "distinctive" advisedly since it seems to me more fruitful to examine what we believe and know about the focus and emphases of our own practice rather than establish only what is unique in contrast to other disciplines which are seeking to guide group activities and relationships. That we have much in common with these other disciplines is generally recognized, but we have tended to be more preoccupied with finding differences than with sharing the task of developing a common body of knowledge and with interrelating our practice.

First, it seems important to examine what we mean by the *practice* of this discipline or method we call social group work. According to *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, "practice" is defined as "actual performance or application of knowledge;—distinguished from *theory, profession*, etc." It is possible to distinguish "actual performance" from the goals and theories which guide performance, but we cannot separate them. Practice of a professional discipline must embody the "why" of a particular course of action as well as the "what" and "how." Gordon Hamilton has expressed this principle admirably in the following statement: "The assumptions that define helpfulness and cooperation in human welfare must have their base in scientific knowledge and human values, linked in practice."¹ Nevertheless, we often find that practice or actual performance is greatly affected by factors other

¹Gordon Hamilton, "Helping People—the Growth of a Profession," in *Social Work as Human Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 4.

than the goals, knowledge, and skills of the practitioner. These factors reside in the needs and interests of the persons served and the conditions afforded in the agencies providing the services.

Therefore, in delineating the practice of social group work in relation to the common and distinguishing elements in other fields of practice, there are six interacting elements which affect the actual performance of practitioners: (1) the value system on which the discipline rests; (2) the scientific knowledge on which methodology is developed; (3) distinctive concepts of the social group work process; (4) the needs, interests, and capacities of the persons served; (5) the objectives, policies, and organizational practices of the agencies affording services to groups of individuals; (6) the goals, knowledge, insights, and skills of the practitioners directly working with groups and of those guiding and facilitating their practice.

Secondly, we must attempt to identify the related disciplines and fields of practice which are concerned with groups of human beings as they interact with each other. It should be noted that we are confining this discussion of the disciplines and fields of practice to those concerned with groups in which there is face-to-face interaction among members. It is important also to distinguish between the disciplines oriented to furthering scientific knowledge of the social phenomena pertaining to group interaction and behavior and those fields of practice seeking to influence or affect group life and the experience of individuals in their participation in it. The social and behavioral sciences are increasingly turning their attention to research which throws new light on the face-to-face group as it plays a prominent role in determining the personality of the individual and the structure of society. The psychological and sociological sciences are converging in the development of theoretical systems regarding small groups in human society. Many research projects are testing hypotheses by means of groups formed and functioning under laboratory conditions. Other studies are conducted by securing empirical data based on observations of group behavior in a variety of social settings. In the Introduction to the volume entitled *Small Groups—Studies in Social Interaction*, the authors comment on the selections they have made of current theoretical works:

Current theory in the technical sense is still far from unified, in spite of the widespread conviction that it can and will be. Differences in language, imagery, and interpretive thought-models always present a certain amount of difficulty. But the difficulties are, after all, familiar. All the traditional dilemmas and puzzles that have been encountered by the behavioral sciences in their struggle toward an understanding of human behavior are encountered in small group theory. Small group research may well be the setting in which many of the traditional dilemmas will be resolved and the divergent perspectives merged. This hope, as much as the desire to obtain answers to practical problems, is probably a major factor in the widespread appeal of the field.²

A perusal of the Bibliography of this one volume will indicate the extent and variety of research currently directed toward enlarging the body of knowledge about small groups. We no longer regard the work of social scientists who are pushing back the frontiers of our knowledge of human behavior and social relationships and institutions as separate and unrelated to practice directed toward the betterment of society or the enrichment and improvement of the individual human being. In 1950, Grace Coyle pointed out clearly the necessity for interrelating scientific research with developing the quality of practice, but she also cautioned that there are problems involved in achieving this blending of science and art so needed in social work practice:

... there is as yet a gap between the researcher in the social disciplines and the social practitioner. This alignment has been hindered by mutual scepticism, lack of acquaintance, difficulties in communication, the need to be bilingual in the languages of both practice and research and perhaps also temperamental differences which led us to our respective functions.³

It must also be borne in mind that social group work practice rests upon a value system of social goals and professional ethics, while the scientist in his research must maintain objectivity and is not involved in seeking specific social ends. To quote Grace Coyle again, "Good intentions without knowledge end in futility. Scientific knowledge applied in social practice without the guidance of

² A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, eds., *Small Groups—Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), p. 4.

³ Grace L. Coyle, "The Relation of the Research Center of Group Dynamics to the Practice of Social Work" (unpublished manuscript).

social aims and effective professional ethics is not only futile; it is dangerous. We must find the way to relate them in fruitful union."⁴

When we attempt to identify the disciplines and fields of practice involving direct work with face-to-face groups we realize how numerous and diffuse they are. This is not to be wondered at when so great a part of the life of human beings is spent in groups and so large a proportion of human activity is carried out through groups. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between the processes of group interaction and functioning which pervade all facets of human experience from the conscious and purposive processes of giving direction to group life for the more effective attainment of the goals for which the group exists.

It is with these conscious and purposive processes and methods of giving direction to groups of people in interaction with each other that social group work practice is identified. I shall limit this discussion to the distinguishing characteristics of social group work relative to only those fields of practice which seem to me most closely allied both in terms of objectives and of methodology to social group work. Several professional disciplines have developed a body of knowledge and skills for practice with respect to groups and individuals in groups. Among these are education, medicine (specifically psychiatry), and social work. We should probably add to these clinical psychology and industrial psychology. Within the purposes and scope of each of these professions there are aspects of practice which are particularly directed toward promoting individual and group ends through the processes of interaction and group activities. For instance, within the broad field of education the adult educators have placed special stress on the dynamics of the interplay of ideas and attitudes of group members in furthering educational aims. The impact of the philosophy of education of John Dewey and his followers has indeed infused much of educational practice with the importance of the group as education as well as the context within which teaching and learning take place.

Within the practice of psychiatry the process of interaction of individuals in groups is assuming continuously more importance

⁴*Ibid.*

in the treatment of emotionally or mentally disturbed persons. Group psychotherapy is now utilized in many clinical settings along with other forms of treatment, and the term "group therapy" is applied to a wide variety of work with groups composed of individuals suffering from physical, emotional, or social dysfunctioning. Saul Scheidlinger has made a real contribution to the clarification of the distinguishing characteristics of practice in group psychotherapy and other methods of utilizing the group as a means for attaining therapeutic results for individuals. He says that "it is useful to differentiate between *therapeutic effects* accruing from a variety of mental hygiene-based group measures, and *therapy* in the sense of a psychological process where specific techniques are applied by trained practitioners to deal with recognized areas of pathology."⁵

Within the practice of social work, work with groups is by no means limited to those practitioners whose major professional competence is that of social group work. The caseworker, the community organization worker, the administrator, the social work researcher, all work with groups of many kinds and for a variety of purposes. There is increasing recognition of the need for understanding the dynamics of group processes on the part of all social workers just as there was an earlier recognition of the need for all social workers to be knowledgeable of the dynamics of individual behavior. But just as all use of the understanding of psychodynamics by social workers in their relationships and work with individuals is not necessarily casework practice, so use of the understanding of processes of group interaction in dealing and working with groups is not necessarily group work practice.

The above discussion of the fields of practice which include or focus on work with groups identifies only a few which have many common areas of purposes and methods with those of social group work. In 1952 the *Journal of Social Issues* devoted an entire issue to a consideration of group methods in psychotherapy, social work, and adult education. In 1953 the American Orthopsychiatric Association included in its annual conference a round table discussion on "The Group in Education, Group Work, and Psycho-

⁵ Saul Scheidlinger, "Social Group Work and Group Psychotherapy," *Social Work*, I, No. 3 (1956), 37.

therapy." Less consideration has been given to the common and differing elements in work with groups in the fields of counseling, family life education, community organization, administration, and many others.

What, then, distinguishes social group work practice from other purposive ways of working with groups as a means for furthering individual and social goals? It should be made clear that we are discussing not the practice of social group workers in all aspects of their professional activities, but only that aspect of their service which is devoted to direct work with groups within the constituency of the agency. During the past year the Committee on Practice of the Group Work Section of the National Association of Social Workers made a study of the practice of social group work. The summary of the report of this study describes its focus as follows: "An inquiry about the professional background and present positions of members of the Group Work Section of the NASW and about the relationship of the policies, procedures and practice of their agencies to the practice of social group work."⁶

The study was conducted by a committee under the chairmanship of Gertrude Wilson who also served as the director. The data were secured by means of a questionnaire which was submitted to the total membership of the Section. Approximately 25 percent of the membership responded to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was so constructed as to elicit not only factual data regarding members but also some interpretation of the conceptual basis of their practice both in terms of objectives and focus of their practice and conditions essential to effective practice. Although there is some lack of agreement with the conceptual basis as it was framed for purposes of the questionnaire, the widespread interest which has been aroused among group workers for further clarification of the concepts distinctive to practice is a needed and valuable development. The report of the study emphasizes that the real task of the Committee on Practice still lies ahead, and this view is contained in the question addressed to the membership in the introduction to the summary report: "Do you want the Committee on Practice of the Group Work Section henceforth to

⁶ Gertrude Wilson, "Summary of Report of Study on Practice of Social Group Work" (mimeographed, National Association of Social Workers, 1956).

concentrate on the study of those functions which are performed within the social group work process?"⁷

It is evident from the results of this study that we are far from having accurate knowledge about what distinguishes the practice of individual social group workers from that of other practitioners who work with groups. We are probably not even prepared to articulate a basic conceptual framework of our practice with which all members of our discipline would concur. It is gratifying to report that the Committee on Practice of the Group Work Section has requested the Curriculum Study Project of the Council on Social Work Education to undertake the responsibility to develop some formulation of concepts and principles and body of knowledge basic to social group work practice. In spite of this fluid and tentative state of our knowledge, I shall set forth some views of what seem to me to be distinguishing characteristics of social group work practice.

Earlier, I suggested six elements which must be considered in examining distinguishing characteristics of social group work practice relative to other fields of practice with groups. I shall limit this discussion to some concepts which guide practice and some factors of agency function and structure which affect practice.

One of the most important concepts which distinguishes social group work from other fields of practice is the focus of the practitioner on working with groups of individuals rather than with individuals in groups. This concept is admirably expressed in a statement contained in Grace Coyle's article previously referred to:

Group work practice rests upon the awareness that the social process in face-to-face groups is of major importance to those participating, both in terms of their individual satisfaction and development and in terms of the successful accomplishment of the group's goals.⁸

This concept of the dual focus on group and individual movement is a complex one in practice, and there is no full agreement as to its application. This disagreement is demonstrated by the position

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Grace L. Coyle, "Social Group Work: an Aspect of Social Work Practice," *Journal of Social Issues*, VIII, No. 2 (1952), 30.

taken in the definition of social group work contained in the questionnaire utilized in the study of group work practice which states:

Social Group Work is defined as a service to groups where the *primary* purpose is to help members improve their social adjustment and the secondary purpose is to help the group (whatever its structure) to achieve objectives approved by society.⁹

The distinction between primary and secondary purposes which the group worker has as a helping person contradicts what seems to me the essence of the social group work process which is the indivisibility of individual and group goals. It should be made clear that this concept by no means subordinates individual needs to those of the group-as-whole but, as Grace Coyle says it, places the "emphasis . . . upon individual development *through* the group, not necessarily adjustment *to* it."¹⁰

In work with groups by therapists or in the practice of educators, the individual's progress toward overcoming illness or achieving new learning or proficiency is clearly the paramount objective of the practitioner in guiding the group process.

The social group worker's role in using himself and his insights and skills may be distinguished from those of practitioners from other disciplines who work with groups. In a paper delivered at the Annual Conference of the American Orthopsychiatric Association in 1953 I expressed the concept of the social group worker's role as follows:

The social group worker is primarily an enabler in the group process. By use of his understanding of group and individual needs, he establishes relationships through which he seeks to develop the potentialities of the group . . . to find satisfying and socially productive experiences. The specific role and methods of the group worker vary depending on the nature and purpose of the group, the agency which sponsors it, the needs and capacities of the individual members, the type of relationship between the worker and the group, and the knowledge and skills which the worker possesses.¹¹

⁹ *Questionnaire on Practice of Group Work*, Group Work Section, National Association of Social Workers, p. 1.

¹⁰ Coyle, p. 31.

¹¹ Clara A. Kaiser, "Group Work," in "The Group in Education, Group Work and Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Ortho-Psychiatry*, XXIV (1954), 130.

Essentially, this delineation of the role of the group worker is that of all social workers whether their helping role is directed toward individuals, groups, or communities. It does, however, distinguish it from the roles of practitioners from other professions such as medicine, psychiatry, and education in that the primary focus of the role is that of helping or enabling those served to "help themselves" through releasing and building on the potentialities and strengths within them. Practitioners in these related professions *may* emphasize this role, but for the social group worker it is at the core of his function.

The second concept which seems to me especially significant is the interdependence of the quality of the content of the group's program and the quality of social relationships and interaction in the group. In this regard social group work differs in its emphasis with the educator's approach to teaching in groups and the therapist's approach to treating in groups. It differs also from the approach of the administrator dealing with groups such as the staff or board of directors or the community organizer serving as an enabler of a community council. This concept too is far from simple when put into practice. Irving Miller refers to this problem as follows:

Some of us have felt that social group work and social group workers have become too technically oriented. The part of our conception and definition of social group work which has to do with individual social adjustment seems to be greatly emphasized if not exclusively so, at the expense and to the detriment of the part of the definition which has to do with socially desirable goals. We tend to think in terms of method, process, and technique rather than in terms of goals, content, responsibilities, and needs which have to be met.¹²

Difficult though this balance is to attain, social group work practice involves the diagnostically sound use of both program content and interpersonal relations to further individual and group growth.

The concepts I have discussed by no means include all which are characteristic of the group work process, but they seem to me

¹² Irving Miller, "A Critical Appraisal of Some Aspects of Social Group Work Theory and Practice," in *Group Work and Community Organization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 66.

the ones which most clearly distinguish the focus in the practice of group work from that of other methods of working with groups.

It is obvious indeed that the practice of any discipline is profoundly affected and to some extent determined by the purpose, function, and structure of the institution in which it is carried on. In the past ten years there has been a considerable expansion in the number and types of agencies in which social group work is practiced. Associated mainly with informal education and recreation for many years, social group work practice was chiefly practiced in agencies affording leisure-time activities to children and youth. In recent years, however, there has been increasing recognition of the value of social group work as a means for enriching and facilitating services directed toward specific forms of treatment for persons who are suffering from physical, emotional, or social disabilities.

The insights and skills of group work are also seen as having value in agencies whose services involve group living. Agencies serving special needs for group participation of older people no longer actively engaged in the activities involved in earning a living or raising a family are employing group workers both in residential and in day center settings. These newer settings in which group work is practiced have demanded some new dimensions to the knowledge and skill of the group workers employed in them. Indeed, there is now general acceptance that social group workers are practicing in two major types of settings which have been designated as "traditional" and "special." I do not feel that these are the most appropriate terms to use in distinguishing the practice of group workers or characterizing the purpose and function of the two types of settings. However, since no one, including myself, has come up with more adequate terms, we shall examine briefly what some of the differentials in practice might consist in. Gisela Konopka has the following to say on this subject:

Basically all group work is related to the purpose of its agency and method must be used judiciously. The practitioner confronted with a YWCA teen-age group will start at another point, move at a different speed, and help with different program content than the group worker dealing with a street gang. The main professional skill lies in *diagnosis* and in the capacity to use one's tools with flexibility.

The people we work with in psychiatric settings are sick and our focus is on helping them to recover or improve. The specifics of our methods, therefore, are:

1. Intensified individualization and less emphasis on group goal. I am not saying "no consideration."
2. An especially high skill in and focus on formation of groups. Most—though not all—such groups are formed groups.
3. Skill in dealing with emotionally charged verbal material in discussion groups with adults as well as children.
4. More intensive acquaintance with medical and psychiatric knowledge than needed in some other aspects of group work practice.
5. Capacity to accept and know intimately other professions yet to keep one's own identity and be able to interpret it to others.
6. Capacity to accept mental and emotional illness and work with it.¹³

This identification of the specifics of group work practice in psychiatric settings is illustrative of how practice must always be related to the specific needs of persons being served through the specialized functions of agencies.

Increasingly, group work and casework are included in the total social work services afforded by social agencies and by institutions in which social services represent one aspect of the program. In nearly every agency in which social group workers practice persons with their orientation in other disciplines are serving needs of people through group relations. Important as it is for social group work to delineate its special contribution as a helping art, it is of equal importance that the social group work practitioner interrelate his function and contribution with others pursuing the same goals.

In conclusion, therefore, I would like to suggest the following principles which should guide us in enriching and broadening both those aspects of our practice which we regard as distinctive and those which we share with other social work practitioners and with persons having other foci and methods in work with groups.

1. For better or for worse, social group work as it has been developed conceptually and as a field of practice is an aspect and method of the profession of social work. It may have much in

¹³ Gisela Konopka, "The Generic and the Specific in Group Work Practice in the Psychiatric Setting," in *Group Work in the Psychiatric Setting* (New York: White-side, Inc., and William Morrow & Co., 1956), pp. 23-24.

common with other fields of professional practice, such as education and psychiatry, but its philosophy and its basic body of knowledge and skills are those shared by other aspects of social work practice. Group workers often feel like "poor relations" in the family of social work practitioners, but instead of feeling resentful toward our sibling, casework, let us emulate her where this will deepen our insights and skills and let us develop the special methods which pertain to the helping process through the medium of group interaction and participation.

2. We must do much more to define and refine the particular concepts and methods which distinguish social group work practice, but in our relationships and cooperation with other disciplines, demonstration through our practice may be more effective in interpreting our special contribution to furthering group and individual development than verbalization as to what it is. This would substantiate our definition of practice as meaning actual performance.

Group Work Techniques in Joint Interviewing

by GISELA KONOPKA

WHAT HAVE CONCEPTS of group process to contribute to work with troubled families? How do they sharpen our observations?

In what way can group work contribute to an increased understanding of the worker-client relationship in this specific situation?

What skills and techniques can group work contribute?

The first over-all concept to understand and accept is the "meaningfulness of group life." What influence has human interaction on the individual? I hope I do not astonish you too much or bore you if I quote a short excerpt from Plato's description of Socrates' death, which presents beautifully the supporting power of the group. Socrates, surrounded by his friends, asks the executioner:

You, my good friend, who are experienced in these matters, shall give me directions how I am to proceed. The man answers: You have only to walk about until your legs are heavy, and then to lie down, and the poison will act. At the same time he handed the cup to Socrates, who in the easiest and gentlest manner, without the least fear of change of color or feature, looking at the man with all his eyes . . . took the cup . . . holding the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison . . . and at the moment, Appollodorus, . . . broke out into a loud cry . . . Socrates alone retained his calmness: What is this strange outcry? he said. . . . Be quiet then, and have patience . . . and he walked about until as he said, his legs began to fail and then he lay on his back. . . . He was beginning to grow cold about the groin, when he uncovered his face . . . and said (they were his last words)—he said: "Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?" . . .¹

¹ Plato, *Phaedo*.

Socrates is not alone in this dreadful moment of execution. Those who have meaning for him are with him, and he cannot disappoint them. Perhaps he would have drunk the poison as easily had he been alone—that we do not know. But we do know that the outcry among the group of friends allows him to reassure others as well as himself. He can express not only his strength but even his feeling of gratefulness to those who believe in him and of the ideal in him. It is not he himself who thanks Asclepius, the God of Healing. He offers a great gift to a friend by asking him to pay this debt for him. The scene expresses the basic meaningfulness of groups: their strength-giving and healing capacity through the relationship with equals and through mutual give-and-take.

Group workers know that this kind of experience cannot be replaced by any relationship with a professional as helpful as this may be temporarily and that it must be restored or established in every person's life.

The process of interaction in a family must be observed with the theoretical understanding derived from psychoanalysis. These concepts are widely known in social work and especially in case-work, and I therefore shall not go into them. I present here the additional concepts group workers use in their observation of process. The family is one of the most meaningful groups in human life; but "meaningful" does not always mean "positive." It can be meaningful because of its hates and its conflicts. The concepts of group formation, subgroup, and bond sharpen our observations between family members. With the exception of the two marriage partners the family is not a self-chosen group. From the point of view of group formation the family consists of two distinct subgroups. In Western culture the marriage partners, the parents, are a self-chosen subgroup. The children and the parents form a group which was not self-chosen. Bond develops through the special efforts on the part of the parents through their loving care and through their acceptance of the children. In the happy and mature family we see the group phenomenon of increasing bond which gives the individuals in the group such security with each other that they can act according to their own individuality while gaining strength from mutual support. In the troubled fam-

ily we see all the variations of group bond from the one which allows the family member no individuality to sharp separations between subgroups, as, for instance, children on the one side and parents on the other, or father and son versus mother with daughter, to the complete destruction of any bond. A highly useful concept is the one of differences of roles taken by members of the group. In the family group, for instance, there are certain role expectations which are traditional, others which show the rapid change in our whole culture, and those which might be considered unhealthy because they destroy the individual and the family. The role of the father as the breadwinner is the traditional role. Our changing concept of the status of women allows the woman to be also the breadwinner and to assume this role alongside the father or, in some cases, instead of the father. In itself, this changing role need not be unhealthy. It might be fitting and useful in the particular pattern of a particular family and it might mean a happy and rich family life. The change of role becomes detrimental either when outside pressures disapprove too strongly or when inside the family the significant members do not truly agree with the changing role. It is impossible here to go into all the implications of changing culture. I want to emphasize that in family work it becomes increasingly important for the social worker to understand those patterns and relate them to the interrelationships in a specific family constellation instead of using stereotyped ideas about roles. Dr. Kohut once pointed out that the idea of "maleness" meaning "being aggressive" fitted into pioneer times and the Wild West, but it is questionable whether it fits every male in our present society, for instance the artist or the psychiatrist.

Roles change in relation to different situations and to different personalities. We must realize that it is legitimate for people to take on different roles at different times. The role of the father cannot be that of the "lover" in relation to his daughters, but it is that in relation to his wife. We must sharpen our eyes for the roles people play in the family and learn to evaluate their appropriateness. Many marriages need help with learning this instead of measuring roles against their own upbringing exclusively.

Another important concept is the one of contagion in a group, the degree to which the behavior of group members influences each other. A woman, for instance, presented in the social agency office the picture of a harassed and beaten person with many family problems. When the worker visited the home the mother was preparing the dinner, animatedly chatting with her teen-age daughter while the father was laughingly playing with two of the youngest children. The mother now presented the picture of a capable person who displayed her family with great pride, the same family which was described as such a burden in the individual interviews. It would be wrong to draw the conclusion that only one or the other picture is the true one. It is quite possible that the "contagion" of a rather easy-going husband and an animated teen-ager made the mother feel different at the times she was in direct contact with them. If it were only "contagion," then the family group is only a superficial source of strength and the mother would need much individual help. Yet if there was true ambivalence, this family constellation presented real support and needed strengthening as a total group. We see here how the concept of contagion may help with diagnosis and prognosis.

Conflict-solving is another factor which must enter our observation. What forms of conflict-solving has the family chosen? Conflict-solving is rarely done by an individual alone, but usually in interaction. Is it done by one partner silently withdrawing so that it seems as if the solution of the other one has been accepted? Is it done by violent quarrels ending with the decision of the one who is the strongest? Are conflicts solved differently when the children are present than when the children are not present? Do we observe a face-saving kind of situation which does not occur when children are away? Which member or members in the family are the key in arriving at constructive forms of conflict-solving?

And finally, what values, what expectations, have family members for the total family and for individual members? How do those coincide with the self-image of those members? Cooley once spoke of "the looking glass self," by which he meant that all of us see ourselves as we are seen through the eyes of others. This is partially true, but partially the two images do not coincide.

When we observe a family in interaction we will see how often the self-image or the image presented to us of another person in an individual interview does not coincide at all with the image this person presents in actual interaction. This is most striking in relation to teen-agers and their families. The diary of Anne Frank has shown us how strongly the teen-ager's self-image varies from the one seen by parents and even by siblings:

. . . the nice Anne is never present in company. . . . if I'm quiet and serious, everyone thinks it's a new comedy and then I have to get out of it by turning it into a joke, not to mention my own family, who are sure to think I'm ill, make me swallow pills for headaches and nerves. . . . I twist my heart round again, so that the bad is on the outside and the good is on the inside and keep on trying to find a way of becoming what I would so like to be and what I could be, if . . . there weren't any other people living in the world.²

The last sentence especially shows us how basic this "coming to terms" with interrelationships is to the maturing process, how painful, how confused. Anne was almost completely cut off from contemporaries. Those are the ones who help the teen-ager in normal situations to regain an acceptance of "other people living in the world," because they too see themselves as misunderstood by the adult world. And only by interaction with each other do teen-agers learn to find their true self, the one that can be carried comfortably and is not too different from the one they carry inside. In family work, whether in child guidance clinics or other agencies, this understanding of the vital importance of contemporary group relations for the teen-ager must be known and acted upon by every social worker.

To summarize: the additional concepts coming from group work practice and theory of group process which seem to be helpful in observing and diagnosing family situations are those of group formation, subgroups, process of interaction, changing and ambivalent roles, degree of contagion, forms of conflict-solving, values, and expectations in regard to self-images of family members.

² Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1952), pp. 282-83.

It is not accidental that the relationship between the group worker and his group generally is more informal than in the individual interview. This also applies to groups in therapy settings. A psychiatrist observing a group led by a social group worker in a mental hospital observed afterward, "There is something occurring in your group meetings which never occurs in individual interviews, and that is laughter." This more informal relationship is inherent in the specific constellation of a worker and the group and is consciously used by the group worker. It does not mean that the relationship is superficial. It does mean, though, that in work with groups we have entered a territory where we are not alone the "giver," but that others play an important relationship role which we must enhance, not diminish. The social worker working in a group situation must develop in himself a discipline which allows for the willingness to let other members of the group do his job.

Let me explain this through an example. A mother who had been on ADC grant had apparently been incapable of budgeting her money. The worker wanted to help her decide on a more realistic allowance to the teen-age children, who made many demands which the mother seemed incapable of resisting. The social worker presented the financial situation to the total family without suggesting a change in allowances. The first suggestion one of the youngsters made in relation to the budget was that they could save electricity by going to bed earlier. When the family went over the figures with the social worker the boy realized that this saving would be small. With pride he said, "I could give mother a dollar a week from my allowance." The twelve-year-old had found the same solution the worker had in mind but at the same time, by feeling that he was contributing directly and of his own decision, he had saved his role as beginning adult.

This willingness to let a group member find solutions, which characterizes the group worker-member relationship and his skill in letting this happen, is directly applicable to work with the family group. This free and creative participation is only possible when some informality is maintained. Families are natural groups, and they naturally resent an outsider. The caseworker working with a

family group will have to learn to be a friend as well as a professional. Eric Erickson said that he would not accept a client without having had a meal in the family's home. He understood how important it is to gauge the family atmosphere but also how important it is for the family to "gauge" the worker. The moment we move into a natural group situation we are no more office creatures and we must be willing to let the client group know us. To accept the informal group situation as an essential without being seduced by it is what group workers have had to learn. It is this understanding of a special form of relationship which seems to be helpful in family interviewing.

The establishment of an informal atmosphere includes a parallel to the group work technique of "balanced program." In voluntary or formed groups we mean by this the use of nonverbal activities followed by discussions, or quiet activities balanced by outlets for energy, and so on. This is based on the understanding of the need for human beings to express themselves and learn in a great variety of ways. In the contact with a family group the worker might, for instance, eat with the family, look at family pictures, or play with a small child, and then move on to a more formal discussion of the problems. This balanced approach gives opportunity for observation of real life situations, allows individuals to gain trust, and helps them to focus on their problem without being pressed into it.

Another technique is the conscious use of "pauses." Conflict situations in families are usually tense, and the presence of other family members is both helpful and embarrassing. It is necessary to allow for a relief of tension, when this is indicated, either by suggesting a break for a few minutes or by letting conversation move away from the main subject. The use of the pause is a highly skilled one and can only be learned by repeated experience, as are all our methods and skills. If it is indiscriminately used it may lead to running away from serious problems and leave the family with a feeling of wasted time. If it is used well, it can be most creative and allow for rethinking and a gathering of new strength.

The most important technique used in group work is the skill of helping the members to relate to each other instead of pre-

dominantly to the worker. Group discussions miss their diagnostic, therapeutic, or educational purpose if they are individual interviews between worker and client only in the presence of others. Participants in the family interview must be helped to talk to each other, in spite of the presence of an outsider. As in good discussion leading, this is stimulated by observing whether somebody wants to say something and then calling on him; by summarizing an important point and throwing the question back to the group, cutting off in an accepting way the person who is preventing others from participating; and by encouraging participation by those who prefer to say nothing. Discussion leading is not a question-and-answer game. It is quite distinct from individual interviewing. It seems to be a technique highly applicable in family interviewing. It can only be learned under supervision.

Another technique or skill is the use of directness in approach to the problem. Often social workers who are frank and direct in discussing questions individually with clients become indirect and evasive in the group situation. This is what I call "being seduced by the informality." Yet group discussions are only fruitful if participants are clear about their reason for the discussion. Digressions, the creative pause, the balanced use of activity—all these are legitimate techniques, but the purpose must be clear and direct and understood by those present.

The question arises as to the appropriateness of the use of group interviews to family work, when to use and when not. I do not think that we can sharply separate one kind of family situation from another. I do not think that this is necessary. If we realize that in working with people we need to see them in their actual interrelationships if possible, and that we also must allow them the privacy of an individual interview, we will use both methods frequently and as supplements to each other. It is clear that we will not force people into family interviews when they are anxious to keep certain information from family members. We realize that true and complete confidentiality exists only in the individual interview because any group interview carries with it the spreading of knowledge of the problem to several others than worker and individual client. We know, though, that most families know

a great deal about each other, often more than they will ever tell us. And recently we consider more and more the total family group our client. We must also realize that our practice of individual interviews exclusively has often driven away the client who is not very verbal and must depend on a sympathetic and competent observer of his situation. Such a client can only be helped in direct work with the family group.

It is clear, I believe, that in the future we shall need social workers who are capable of doing again what some of our pioneers were able to do, that is, helping people with their inner conflicts and their interrelationships with others and their environment through many diverse methods and techniques and through a deep understanding of them as total personalities and as part of families and communities.

The Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lectures

FOR THE FOURTH YEAR the National Conference on Social Welfare presented three lectures by social scientists at its Annual Forum. The basic purpose of these lectures has been to use the forum facilities of the Conference for the promotion of more effective collaboration between social work and the social sciences.

THE SOCIAL WORKER IN CULTURAL CHANGE

by WESTON LA BARRE

AMERICANS ARE A PARADOXICAL PEOPLE. Most of us pretend, or even manage to believe, that ours is a classless society—and yet meanwhile most of us strive desperately to obtain those things (money, goods, and education) which would serve to raise our own class status in the unacknowledged hierarchy. Nor does the frequent ability to change one's social class mean the same thing as the nonexistence of class differences. In a great many occupations, from businessman to university teacher, people are so insulated by professional contacts with their own class almost exclusively that they can hold the comfortable illusion that all America is becoming middle class. But the social worker knows better. Class membership is marked to a great degree by differing incomes, and anyone who is in constant contact, like the social

worker, with a broad cross section of our society is thoroughly aware of the fact that incomes still do differ. They differ not only in amount, but also in their sources—from daily wages to fixed salaries, and to income from one kind of capital investment or another. And differing incomes mean, in practice, different types of houses, neighborhood, associates, status, education, and ambitions—in a word, different subcultures.

I come from a part of the country in which caste and class are still very conspicuous realities, not to be denied: Negro-white relations are one phrasing of the caste problem, and emergent trade unionism in the South is one aspect of the class difference problem. As an anthropologist I am vividly aware of the great differences in world view and general culture between, say, the cotton mill worker and the wealthy, old-established, factory-owning, and land-owning families. The narrow world of the rural poor white folk of the snake-handling religion constitutes a distinct tribal subculture when contrasted with that of the prosperous town Presbyterians and Episcopalians who are college-educated bankers and mill owners.

Probably social workers and anthropologists will agree from their own experience that social class is still very much a real thing in America.

I want to urge the social worker to become a little more self-conscious about her own position in the social class context, and to become more aware of herself as an unofficial and unacknowledged, but nevertheless real, vehicle for the cross communication of class attitudes, and a powerful if often unwitting force for social change. In this I already have as my ally the fact that probably no other group of professionals, unless perhaps the psychiatrists, is so accustomed to constant self-appraisal as is the social worker. Another fact serves to make my task the easier, and this is that the social worker in dealing with people from all walks of life is in many ways professionally the bridge between the overprivileged and the underprivileged classes.

Social workers, it is safe to say, are temperamentally self-recruited by their possession of an acutely sensitive and overdeveloped middle-class conscience. On the other hand, acquisition

of upper-class status is, I am afraid, all too commonly accompanied by a deficiency in this respect and by an obtuseness to the moral exploitation of other people. Sometimes it is a defect of knowledge, but just as often it is a defect of feeling—as when some conservatives argue that the poor are poor by a kind of choice and are themselves morally to blame for their position. On the other hand, lower-class people, in the South at least, are still primarily preoccupied with often picayune and immediate personal sin; but social workers are just as often, or oftener, preoccupied with the larger sins of our society.

The middle class, also, more often feels guilty over its privileged position than does an exploitative leisure class, to which guilt would be excess baggage. This does not mean that the social worker is not able to teach leisure-class individuals a concern for the underprivileged; for the fact remains that this is one of her most important and constant jobs in class communication and community education. It is because of this peculiar middle-class context that I shall argue that social work as a profession is the most important single force for social change in America today. These differences in social awareness are of course only relative; and yet it is clear that the social worker characteristically discerns social needs where other people do not see them—and like an Old Testament prophet she is highly articulate about them until other people see and acknowledge the issues.

Board members sometimes affectionately remark of an effective social worker, "No sooner do we get a problem settled than she digs up a new one." Actually, she did not "dig it up." It had always been there, unnoticed or unacknowledged. It is this possession of the middle-class conscience to an inordinate degree that makes the social worker so effective a communications channel between social classes. The social worker, oriented as she is to social action about real problems, both in terms of individuals and in terms of larger principles, is today much more the gadfly of our social conscience than are, I am afraid, more official and recognized functionaries like the preacher or the teacher.

The anthropologist, meanwhile, is fearful that people will not sufficiently notice the great and real differences in class culture

and class attitudes in America. For example, various students of sexuality on a class basis have shown us almost startling differences in so quasi-biological a thing as sex behavior in differing social classes. Masturbation, for example, to the lower class is often as desperate a sin as an illegitimate child is to the middle class. And how is it that the lower class is so effectively taught that coitus should be had while partly clothed, while the upper classes take it for granted that it is properly in the nude? And how shall upper-class judges enforce middle-class laws on lower-class offenders?

We make all kinds of often wholly mistaken assumptions about people in other classes. Leisure-class people, for instance, and to a lesser degree middle-class people, are constantly and eagerly seeking new experiences. On the other hand, Southern rural poor whites have an almost paranoid suspicion of the new and the unfamiliar. Recently Walt Disney's *Fantasia* was revived in my town during the tobacco marketing season, and a tobacco-farming family sat in front of me in the small theater. From their conversation it was clear that they were increasingly puzzled and scandalized as they sat through two episodes, not finding in them the familiar horse opera or the usual Cinderella saga. After a whispered conversation they got up in a body, angry at the indignity of having been offered something new. New experience evidently seemed to them almost total depravity.

I need not belabor the point about class-culture differences for social workers, but can pass on immediately to concrete instances where the social worker is the major vehicle for social change, not merely in spite of her class differences but often in fact because of them. In this she is the better therapist, and the better object of transference, and the better vehicle for class communications, if she is aware of this hidden aspect of her relationship to the client.

Take the spread of birth control information among the poorer classes. Because of their attitudes toward morality, often, and also because of their class patterns relating to doctors—to whom they go only in the case of dire illness—it is really most uncommon for lower-class women to learn initially of birth control from physicians, to whom middle-class persons would turn as a matter of

course for such information. On the other hand, to the social worker, knowledgeable and thoughtful about immediate economic and other problems in the family, and freed by her own class attitudes to be practical about the problem, this will often occur as one positive measure that might be considered. Both because the social worker is usually a woman, while the doctor is usually a man, and also because she reflects the secure and unproblematical attitudes of her class about birth control, the social worker's cultural permissiveness often quite unwittingly reassures her client, who then becomes eager for such practical information, either previously unknown to her or forbidden by one lower-class prejudice or another.

The unfearfulness of the worker is inevitably conveyed, emotionally and even unconsciously, to the client, as something to be taken for granted in the worker's own cultural attitudes. The client may be far more startled by an awareness of this entirely new and helpful way of approaching the problem than the social worker was to discover that her client seemed inhibited about the matter. Those who have endured psychoanalysis will recognize this startling quality in the revelation of the obvious during therapy, and will understand how clients can be apparently overgrateful for such communication, sometimes, as here, even on the unconscious emotional level.

The middle-class worker "knows" that problems are solvable; underprivileged people, on the other hand, because of failure in their struggle with chronic predicaments, may just as well "know" beforehand that their problems are insoluble. Fortunately, the social worker is more often right in her assumption; nevertheless, unawareness of possible solutions may be one reason why the person with problems so often neglects to get in touch with social agencies. Another integral part of the social worker's job, therefore, is to procure a wider social awareness of her services and of the availability of other possible solutions.

I think that every well-informed person will agree that the three men who have had the greatest cultural impact on our time are Marx, Freud, and Einstein. I will not go into a discussion of how social workers have been instrumental in spreading a kind of gen-

eral New Deal liberalism, which is essentially the sophistication that cultural patterns and social institutions are not necessarily sacred but are man-made, and hence modifiable by man for the better by taking thought. This new attitude about culture, I think, is reasonably obvious to any student of the contemporary scene—though I would parenthetically inject the comment that this is owing to the social worker's intellectual awareness of certain broad principles formulated by modern anthropologists. Nor will I go into the question of the practical impact of Einstein's abstruse discoveries, because these hover over all of us equally.

What I wish to concentrate upon in his hundred-and-first anniversary year is the impact of Freud upon American culture. Now Freud's ideas are difficult and complex, and they are additionally subject to deep and inevitable resistances in all of us. Elsewhere in the world, these intellectually revolutionary ideas are essentially the exclusive property of a small and segregated group of professional intellectuals. Only in America has basic psychoanalysis become the property, though often in distorted form, of wide segments of the population. I wish seriously to argue that it is only in America with its highly developed professional social work that these difficult ideas have, in fact, become widely disseminated. I think this is clearly because the caseworker is in constant professional contact both with ideas and with practical problems.

Perhaps it is true that a number of well-to-do persons in the communications industries—writers, playwrights, and those connected with the content of radio and television shows—have been another important cultural influence in spreading these ideas. But the point to note is that, involved as it is with their own resistances, the tone they take is characteristically one of mild ridicule. On the other hand, the social worker has applied these ideas in dealing with her own professional problems, and she herself often comes into a position of mild ridicule, comparable to that given the psychiatrist, for her espousal of Freud's principles. It is for this reason that I would give the social worker the greater credit for the wide acceptance of these ideas. She is in a position of intellectual commitment and is fighting by the side of the psy-

chiatrist and the mental hygienist. By contrast, to academic experimental psychologists (who institutionally should have been first and foremost the expected purveyors of new psychological ideas), I would give almost no credit at all for this cultural diffusion. For it is only the clinical psychologists, who work in clinic or agency settings, who have in any major way made these psychological concepts their own. Anyone who has a sense of the intricacies and the difficulties inherent in Freudian thinking must recognize the great magnitude of the cultural revolution which social workers have mediated, and that largely in America.

But there is another aspect of the basic consistency of social work and Freudian analysis which I would emphasize here. Psychoanalysis is a profoundly democratic process in its studied permissiveness and self-choice for the patient; and social work has the democratic ideal at the very core of its philosophy. Both psychiatrists and social workers are anxious to encourage self-choice in the client, based on the newer self-awareness that these two kinds of therapists have given the client. The social worker has a deep democratic respect for the individual person, a respect for his real abilities, an acceptance of him as a unique personality, and a deep conviction of the dignity of each specific individual. Now psychoanalysis, as I have learned in teaching in a medical school, is only with difficulty really conveyed in the usual intellectual ways. It is only in dealing with the real practical problems of people, and on an essentially emotional basis, that psychoanalytical insights are finally learned. For this reason, once again, I would give the social worker the major credit for the enormous cultural revolution that has occurred. In this, her context is again like the psychiatrist's—but once again it is only fair to note that she reaches a far greater number of individuals.

Social workers were the first numerous professional group in America that accepted psychoanalysis. In fact, I would hazard the guess that essential dynamic principles are far more universally accepted in social casework than in medical psychiatry itself. How much, then, in hospitals and in other casework contexts, the social worker must be given credit for the slow but steady enlightenment of medicine itself in such matters as childbirth without

fear, self-demand feeding of babies, rooming in of the newborn baby with its mother—all of which the human biologist, on scientific grounds, greets with unqualified enthusiasm. Despite the marked differences in level of professional prestige, how much must we not credit the caseworker with teaching the pediatrician himself a new approach to democracy in the treatment of children? It is true that anthropologists—and particularly two distinguished women anthropologists, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict—have provided the intellectual rationale for improved pediatric practices that derive from their scientific field work. But who, primarily, has it been who has translated these psychiatric and anthropological ideas into practice if not the social caseworker?

It is in this "horizontal" spread of her own professional culture that the social worker has been highly effective. In the medical school of the University of North Carolina, psychiatric social workers functionally (and even officially, since they are listed as teachers on the payroll) are, in fact, the primary instructors of medical students and internes with respect to psychiatric matters. Furthermore, in teaching a first year course, "Clinical Introduction," a social worker joins psychiatrists, an internist, social psychologist, sociologist, anthropologist, clinical psychologist, and a general practitioner. Not only does each specialist actually teach the medical students in his particular series of lectures, but each one of these specialists is present at each class meeting and class discussion of cases, so that all unite in effective teamwork. I am convinced that this is the best way yet discovered to teach the new "total" medicine. I also know that several philanthropic agencies of the first magnitude in America are actively interested in spreading this training plan in medical schools.

On the matter of cultural change in medicine I should like to make several points. First, it is the doctor who in our society is the other great functionary to whom people take their problems; and doctors themselves have long been convinced that a great many of their patients are really suffering from psychological problems. Therefore, because of their critical position in society, it is important to reach the doctors too. Secondly, young doctors,

both because of their heavy loading with chemistry, physics, and biologically oriented courses, and perhaps also because of their own characteristic personalities, are often most in need of these other social science specialists to teach them how to handle the very problems that they will encounter in medical practice. It is interesting to note that we are all essentially teaching social casework attitudes to these young doctors. We constantly insist that the doctor shall not think of his patient as a bag full of organs walking around, one of which is sick and can be cured by narrowly defined medical specialties. A patient is not just a live cadaver. And a person does not automatically lose his mind and personality and social reality the moment he becomes a medical patient. The young doctor must therefore learn to see the patient as a whole, and as a person, and in a real social, cultural, economic, and psychological context—which has long been the essential casework orientation.

Let us admit that in her long struggle for professional recognition the social worker has by no means achieved anything like the prestige of the medical man. It may be, however, that the important element in her current success is not so much the result of her direct struggle for status as it is that she has a valuable commodity to offer—casework orientation—for which modern holistic medicine is today crying out. Perhaps sick people do need the authority and the all-wisdom of the male figure, the father, in medicine; but we are discovering that they just as much need the sympathy and the understanding of the female caseworker, who functions in these institutional transferences as the mother.

What is interesting and even surprising to discover is that, in actual clinical practice, these young doctors in training turn most often for guidance to the mature caseworker in the clinic. How often have we heard from these young men as they turn to the caseworker: "I don't know beans about the social and psychological aspects of this case; all my college courses were in the physical sciences. Be a good girl, now, and brief me on what my patient's other problems are, or Dr. X. is going to jump down my throat for not learning to practice total medicine!" And so it is, because she has an essential service to offer, and certainly not because of

her lower status in the prestige-hierarchy of the hospital, that the social worker is in actual practice the one to whom the young doctor most often turns. Perhaps she is more accessible than supervising doctors and psychiatrists, because of her long professional habits of setting aside regular time for case consultation conferences, supervision interviews, professional evaluation conferences, and the like. Be that as it may, this particular habit in the professional culture of the social caseworker is a powerful institutional ally in her unacknowledged but real role as a culture-bearer and wide diffuser of culture in the modern training hospital. The psychiatrist is preoccupied with his therapy, while she is merely busy with casework—and teaching.

I have spoken of the role of the social worker as culture-bearer and as culture-diffuser “upward” in the social class sense, that is, to board people, to influential individuals in the community, and to powerful key figures in the legislatures. I have also spoken of another role which the caseworker has as a culture-bearer in various kinds of team work contexts—perhaps it is also “upward” in the prestige-hierarchy sense, though I would prefer to call this a “horizontal” diffusion-influence upon her fellow-professionals: doctors and other agents who are occupationally concerned with the care of sick, distressed, and confused people. I would now like to speak in more detail about still another role and direction of influence as a culture-bearer which the social worker has.

It is in her casework dealings with her own individual clients that the culture of the social worker seems to me most admirable. I may seem, as an anthropologist, to have harped on these class-structural patterns in our society. And yet here, perhaps, we see the caseworker in her greatest cultural glory. As an overgrown middle-class conscience, the social worker is by no means either intellectually or emotionally committed to a rigid cultural status quo. On the other hand, leisure-class persons, who have been individually successful within the contemporary cultural patterns or else the prime beneficiaries, will almost inevitably believe theirs to be the best of all possible worlds and thus automatically be conservative forces in the society. What we sometimes forget, however, is that lower-class people too, partly because of their own

cultural isolation from a knowledge of alternative ways of life, and partly because in their insecurities and anxieties they can only view new trends as changes for the worse, are also, strangely enough, sometimes powerfully conservative forces. And, oddly enough, each real advance that they make in security and in possessions—which they owe largely to the efforts of social liberals—somehow leads them to identify with the conservatives who would maintain the status quo.

Here, I believe, the social worker is in her most fundamentally American democratic role. She has the assurance of adequate middle-class securities to be willing to contemplate change—where the conservative leisure class lacks the motives and the underprivileged classes lack the securities and the broader awareness of cultural alternatives. Thus the social worker is generally free of extremist social biases, in the same way that Freud has insisted the psychiatrist be free of major distorting psychological biases. She is accustomed to dealing realistically with the cultural resources that we already have. On the other hand, with her democratic emotional orientation, the caseworker has no compulsive authoritarian need to force her clients into rigid conformity to contemporary mores. She does not hatefully and mechanically try to make cultural zombies and rigid conformists of her clients. She knows that cultural institutions are largely the product of the cocksure and doctrinaire male mind, and that institutions, in fact, can often potentially be altered for the better. Perhaps in her own life situation as a woman she has learned this essentially feminine, nondogmatic adaptation. If this analysis is correct, then we must see reason to praise social work for being basically a specifically feminine institution professionally, like nursing. Many people have made fun of social workers for their endless conferences and their endless scurrying around to pick other people's brains and to find and weigh many alternative solutions. But this habit derives, perhaps, both from their democratic and their feminine orientation.

Thus it is that the social worker is free enough, and intellectually sophisticated enough, and secure enough, to see that in many cases her clients are literally sick of cultural patterns; that

is, they have become sick precisely because of too literal, too frantic, too authoritarian, and too compulsive a conformity to cultural standards that are in themselves pathogenic and at points even basically antihuman. Oriented, as women characteristically are, to the concrete and particular human being rather than to the grandiose generalizations that men must characteristically rely upon in their more abstract and impersonal relations with one another, the woman social worker is calmly aware that culture patterns can almost always be tailored a bit here and there to fit the individual human being better than cultural ready-to-wear or hand-me-down social institutions.

Let us look at the action of these feminine propensities in concrete casework situations. Take, for example, the child guidance clinic. It is in such a setting that these basic social work attitudes and professional culture have precisely the greatest therapeutic effect. Child guidance problems, the social worker has long since known, are primarily the product of too much, or too little, or too ambivalent, or too misguided and confused parenthood. In her casework setting, when the child is her client, it is she who presents the more permissive figure for identification and emotional relearning which the disturbed child needs. But this is unrealistic—of course, the parents also are her clients in every child guidance case. But here again the ameliorating effects of her peculiar culture-bearing are attractively manifest. To the parents, perhaps suffering alike from the effects of their own parents and from the effects of their own parenthood upon their problem children, the social worker is again the identification figure in her own behavior toward the client for the emotional relearning which is a necessary part of the full therapy of any child guidance problem.

Consider how often it is in child guidance cases that disturbed parents spontaneously enter into a discussion of their own sexual and marital problems. Often they are burdened with real ignorance, or warped, class-engendered fears, or resentment of their own parents for the withholding of information which was desperately important to their own emotional growth as children. Here the caseworker, with her permissive and undoctrinaire dy-

namic orientation, can often be for her clients a new mother-transference figure and the basis for a sounder emotional relearning of parental roles. In her status as surrogate mother, no wonder the caseworker must be as constantly preoccupied with self-assessment as any intelligent parent is forced to be! I seem to be stressing again and again that the relearning in the client is emotional, but that is because I believe the real transactions and cultural communications involved in casework are primarily in emotional, not intellectual terms. In the very casework process itself, and in her provision of a new and quietly permissive cultural climate, the worker constitutes both the source and the context for a new cultural diffusion of attitudes.

In her appetite for helping all human individuals in distress and for turning her own feminine limitations of power into triumphant insights for aiding the distressed, the social worker is a constant and inevitable power for social and cultural change. Her sympathy naturally embraces every underdog, so that it is no mystery at all why social workers are interested in race relations and the plight of the Negro, in labor unions and the plight of wage workers, and in thinking about war and international relations and the plight of all of us. She comes by all this quite naturally. Social workers in the past have often been ridiculed for their allegedly sentimental concern for the criminal and the prisoner as a person, when the male mind had already dismissed them as having been put beyond the pale by their own antisocial acts. The social worker is also essentially and inevitably interested in such unfortunate individuals as the insane; and once again it would seem to me that the social worker is in large measure responsible for the enormous change in our culture with respect to these socially inadequate persons—and that too in an America which is still predominantly a male-oriented society, having too exclusive a preoccupation with competitive male values. When we look at how little men have been able to do with the Negro problem, with union affairs, with the humanizing of industry, with the vindictive punishment of criminals, with the institutional care of the insane, and with the problem of war, then perhaps we should learn some humility from the emergent willing-

ness of women to help with these large social concerns and to share responsibilities for them. Perhaps, indeed, too exclusively a male orientation toward public affairs in general is one of the basic inadequacies of American life today.

Much of our social legislation for the poor—the categorical “failures” of our culture in masculine-competitive terms—has been historically the direct product of the social work thinking of identifiable social workers. The same is true of social security legislation. And the same is true in the preoccupation with the individual in prison reforms. The whole society can well use these cultural by-products of woman’s own great social emancipation.

The wise teacher knows that the wielding of power and the brandishing of dogmas are not the best and most successful way of teaching the young, especially during the time of their full Oedipal revolt in college. All adolescents are social deviants, perhaps, in the eyes of parental culture. But have not social workers already taught us how to translate client revolts against society of one sort or another into reassessments and mature acceptance of self-responsibility? In her sympathy for all possible distressed persons, will the social worker not also teach us to turn our eyes in the other direction and lead us into a greater concern for our own parents, as a result of the active entry of casework into the field of geriatrics? Culturally, America is also a markedly youth-oriented society. But, here again with the coming change in age distributions in our population, we may someday be grateful for the social worker’s overgrown conscience and for her ability to see a problem while it still seems a mile off.

And, in the last analysis, cannot the psychiatrically oriented professional culture of the social worker teach us a newer and more mature way to approach all our social and cultural problems? She does not preach; she merely points out additional considerations that must be taken into account in any mature and realistic judgment and decision we may make about our problems. She is no hidebound doctrinaire; she remains firmly and inextricably involved with particular instances and with the individual human being. Perhaps her apparent indecision and suspension of final

judgment and endless consultation with others are, after all, only democracy itself in action; perhaps her endless propensity for seeking exceptions in individual cases is even a better way to handle human affairs than ironclad rigid rules. The social worker does not hand down arbitrary omniscient answers; rather, she helps her client explore and assess the answers that are best for him.

From a male point of view, this may be seen as the real feminine power of women over their men and their children. But this is a mistake in judgment of the nature of mature femininity. It is not a seeking of power at all, but rather a result of the mysterious feminine ability to love an individual man and individual children, for all their many faults, and to be primarily interested in their individual self-defined happiness and growth and fulfillment. Some of you may feel that I have overidealized the social worker as a culture-bearer and culture-modifier. If this is so, then it is only a necessary justice; for when social workers are severely criticized for feminine faults, I think that it is only fair to point out also their feminine strengths and virtues.

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

by JOHN H. ROHRER

THIS PAPER PRESENTS A SUMMARY of a study¹ carried out in 1953-56 at Tulane University. The research constituted an intensive follow-up of a group of Negroes studied as adolescents in 1937-38 by Allison Davis and John Dollard.² The follow-up

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² Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940).

was made possible by the generosity of Professors Davis and Dollard, who made available all the original interview protocols on the 277 individuals whom they studied. Thus, furnished with a list of names, we started out to locate these people, beginning first with the cases that originally were most fully studied. In all, we attempted to find 107 of the subjects. Of that 107, we were able to locate 90; of the 90 located, we actually studied 47.

The sample had originally been selected by Davis and Dollard as representative of the various social classes to be found at that time. That their sampling was extremely well done is indicated by the occupations of the people we located: physicians, barmaids, nurses, postal employees, entertainers, and prostitutes—to mention a few.

The purpose of the study was to find out something about the interactive impact of social and cultural factors upon the personality functioning and adjustment of our subjects. Our team, accordingly, was made up of personnel drawn from a number of disciplines. Its core included two psychologists, two analytically oriented psychiatrists, a sociologist, and an anthropologist. To these were added, for varying periods of time, five secretaries, two psychiatric social workers, three additional psychiatrists, seven field interviewers, two psychologists, four graduate students, and a linguist. In all, nineteen white and eleven Negro researchers worked on the study. It is obvious, therefore, that this paper presents the work of a rather large, intricate research team attacking a problem from cultural, social, and psychological viewpoints and interested in both interpersonal and intrapsychic phenomena.

The research techniques used during the course of the study were varied. Nonparticipant observations were made both in the home and in work situations. There were informal interviews concerned with attitudes toward work, family, recreation, and child rearing. There were analytically oriented interviews, sometimes as many as sixty hours being devoted to one subject. Formal interview schedules were filled out. A rather complete battery of psychological tests was administered, including intelligence, Rorschach, TAT, and Machover tests.

It was impossible to consider our sample a random one repre-

sending the Negro population of New Orleans. Because of this, when we made what we felt was a crucial finding, we designed independent studies and then drew random samples, in order to test the generalities of the finding. In all, three such independent studies were carried out. One was a content analysis of printed media (the words of jazz songs, Creole folk songs, and a Negro newspaper) aimed at isolating dominant value and motivational systems.

A second study involved linguistic analysis of speech samples in order to develop a more sensitive index of social class. A random sample of 100 persons was selected. We recorded the speech of each one on tape, and then had our linguist do a "blind" analysis of the specimen's dialectical features. These were then compared with data on the social placement of the individuals.

A third study was focused on matters of child training in the Negro community. We designed a questionnaire labeled "An Adoption Questionnaire" and administered it to a random sample, stratified by class, of 102 Negro women householders. This questionnaire was directed toward discriminating different practices and attitudes toward child training held by the Negro community, and made possible the comparison of groups differing by class, by ethnic origin, and by family type. We were especially concerned with the presence or absence of generalized socialization techniques used to prepare the child for living in a color-caste system. The main aim of this study was to test the Kardiner self-hate hypothesis. We reasoned that if self-hate was a universal phenomenon growing out of the color-caste system, as suggested by Kardiner, then there must be some place in the life of every Negro where he had been given systematic training which made him aware of the existence of the caste system and of his subordinate placement within that system. Moreover, this training had to be internalized as an integral part of the personality dynamics of the individual. (Our adoption study failed to reveal that there was any universal systematic training given in caste etiquette, at least before school age.)

Our research design then involved collecting data on social and psychological functioning, using about every technique known

to social science. Our primary integrative task was to relate the data on social-cultural functioning to the data on intrapsychic functioning in order to get at the interactive processes that resulted in the characteristic modes of acting that these people exhibited. A less well realized goal was to study the perpetuation of socialization practices of cross generations and to determine if those practices led to the development of personality structures in the child similar to those of the parent.

Almost from its beginning, New Orleans has been a biracial city. The first Negro slaves were brought to New Orleans around 1718, and by 1721 they appear to have made up from one third to one half of the total population of the city. Thus, the group that we are studying may be considered to be at least sixth- to eighth-generation Americans. By 1850 there had evolved a three-caste social system. First of all there was the white caste, made up of upper, middle, and lower classes. Secondly, there was the free Negro caste, also made up of upper, middle, and lower classes. The upper and middle free Negroes were Creole; that is, they tended to speak French as their everyday language. Finally, there was a third caste made up of slaves. In 1850 there were approximately seventy thousand slaves in New Orleans.

At the end of the Civil War some changes were brought about in the caste system operating in New Orleans. The chief change was the restriction of the economic and social activities of the free Negroes, resulting in their merging with the former slave group to form a two-caste society. This society of a two-race caste of three classes each tended to be descriptive of New Orleans up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

About 1910 there began a series of rapid social changes. Negro education became universal, if segregated. New occupations were slowly but steadily made available to the Negro. More recently, since the legal supports of segregation have begun to fall, the strictness of race relations has been loosened and mitigated. Public segregation has been broken with increasing frequency, with a resulting increase of interracial activities. Segregation in public schools and state universities has been declared unconstitutional. New Orleans society is still biracial. However, the social structure

of the city is no longer that of a caste society. Neither is it that of a society without racial distinctions. It is essentially a biracial society of three classes each, the biracial line being the color line which divides the parallel societies that have grown up. In the three-caste system holding before the Civil War, we found in the free Negro class that the upper and middle classes were occupied exclusively by so-called "Creole" Negroes. In every class within the Negro social organization are now to be found non-Creole members, that is, the upper (professional, managerial, and proprietary), the middle (white-collar workers and skilled laborers), and the lower class (unskilled, illegally employed, or unemployed workers).

In the present period of marked transition some of the labor unions are mixed racially, others are still segregated. Some schools, some colleges, and some university departments are integrated, others are not. The number of Negro voters in the New Orleans area is rising steadily. Some of the churches are segregated, others are integrated. Even within given denominations, individual churches vary in this respect. Perhaps the most important change that affects the over-all form of society and the people in that society is the increasingly frequent contact of class equals across racial lines. Under the caste system, the pattern of social relations was such that whites always met Negroes as social inferiors, e.g., the upper class met lower-class Negroes as servants. The upper- and middle-class Negroes particularly were isolated from white contact. Increasingly today, Negro leaders are meeting white leaders. Especially in educational and political contacts, in labor unions and churches, there is social interaction of class equals across racial lines. Thus, while the society has become a biracial class society, the social definition of what race implies is still in the process of reformulation.

One of the most striking facts about the development of Negro society in New Orleans is the recency of its organization. With few exceptions, the more detailed institutional forms of Negro society in the city—the schools, the churches, political factions, business enterprises, social clubs, fraternal organizations, and so forth—are the products of twentieth-century growth and develop-

ment. Indeed, few of the organizations particular to the New Orleans Negro society can trace their founding to before 1910. It is important also to note that many of the institutional forms were not developed as a means of satisfying the needs of Negroes as such, but were borrowed from forms existing in the dominant white society. Institutional forms which were effective in meeting the needs of the white society often proved to be relatively weak and ineffectual in satisfying the particular need of the socially and economically submerged Negro masses, whose participation in the totality of society was, and still is, considerably restricted. Consequently, these institutional forms have undergone such modifications that would make them more effective in satisfying the particular needs of Negroes. As would be expected, these modifications have resulted in a culture somewhat different from white culture.

Thus, we see that contemporary Negro society in New Orleans has evolved in an extremely rapid manner over a period of forty or fifty years, and there has been an elaboration of the social institutions available for Negro participation. Too, there has been a marked increase in job opportunities available for Negroes in New Orleans and, accompanying this as a necessary concomitant, increased opportunities for education. It is a rapidly changing social structure. The people whom we studied, for the most part, have lived through these rapid changes which have required them to engage in continual readaptation to the ever new society to which they belong.

The primary social identification which our subjects have made reveals as much as anything possibly can the nature of the contemporary society and how the interaction between the dynamics of the social structure and the dynamics of intrapsychic structure molds what we know as personality. Primary social identification addresses itself to the question of how the individual sees himself in relationship to his world, and how he views other members of the society with whom he interacts. The rather large amount of work that has been done in recent years on multiple group memberships points to the fact that typically a person's identifications with the social world in which he finds himself are multiple rather than monadic. But a selection is made from the total social system with

relatively heavier psychological investments in selected portions of the system. For the individual, this makes his world a somewhat different one from the modal social structure abstracted by the sociologist. In other words, the individual tends to weigh some of his roles as far more important than others, and to organize his psychological economy around the roles. If I were asked, "Who are you?" probably my first response would be, "a college professor," rather than, "I am white and of Pennsylvania Dutch descent." Thus we may consider that some of the roles in which we engage reflect primary identifications made by us with selected roles. Other roles are of secondary or tertiary importance. This process of weighing the relative importance of roles is apparently a subjective one and undoubtedly related to the motivational systems of the individual. Yet, once we have made a given primary social identification, there is a certain patterning which takes place, the patterning unfolding into a consistent gestalt. For groups, it is the commonality of shared primary role identifications that makes possible the isolation of identifiable social classes. For the individual, the successful patterning of identifications around a primary role identification makes it possible for him to establish a clear ego identity; a process of crucial importance for healthy ego functioning.

Our task, then, was to inquire: "How do the individuals we studied relate themselves psychologically to the society of which they are a part?" In considering this problem we needed to keep in mind that they were living in a biracial society that imposed certain limitations on the kinds of reference groups that could be significant in the individuals' lives. However, there is a danger in considering the reference group of "race" as being the all-important one. Perhaps the most important contribution made by Davis and Dollard in *Children of Bondage* was to document the finding that other social factors besides "race," even when "race" is structured in the rigor of a caste system, have a rather crucial influence on how individuals see themselves in relationship to others. The important variable pointed out by Davis and Dollard was, of course, social class.

Since then, Kardiner and Ovesey³ have revived the race thesis

³ Abram Kardiner and Lionel Oversey, *The Mark of Oppression* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951).

in a more sophisticated form. In oversimplified form, their theory is that the Negro's basic identification is with the white oppressor, that reality factors prevent achievement of this identification; the resulting frustration causes self-hate that in turn feeds back to cause him to strive harder to achieve the goal of "being white," and the cycle is repeated. As mentioned earlier, our inability to find this process operating in most of our subjects caused us to carry out a second independent study on a new sample—a study that also failed to provide support for the Kardiner hypothesis.

We first started out in our search for significant social factors to follow Davis's and Dollard's lead, and attempted to relate our subjects to the class structure of New Orleans Negro society. In order to introduce a greater rigor into the concept of class, we defined it as a homogeneous subculture within a larger society. We soon discovered that the patterns of Negro life prevented us from making specific generalizations about the relationships holding between personality and a classically defined three-class system. There was considerable fluidity brought about by mobility and individual differences within the class structure which made it not a good concept to use, at least for the level of generalization at which we were aiming.

We then went to the notion of primary social identification. Our initial assumptions for this analysis were rather simple, i.e., that each subject would have such an identification, and that these would be revealed to us in the *patterns of positive and negative relationships* developed toward the social groups in their personalized environment. By empirical study and analysis of our interview and field materials, on each of our subjects, we were able to discover a group patterning of primary social identification. Five such groups were identified. These groups were characterized by the homogeneity of values they held, their style of life, and their selective social participation. We labeled the groups as follows: middle class, matriarchy, gang, nuclear family, and Bohemia. In essence, what we did was to compromise the Warnerian social class notion used by Davis and Dollard by using a more homogeneous, and hence smaller, subculture grouping and by using

the notion of identification at both a social and—as we shall see later—a psychological level of description.

Middle-class social identification. The values held by this group are those classically said to be held by middle-class people in the United States. They are values placed on achievement, responsibility, education, respectability, politeness, industriousness, material security, and kindred virtues. One of our subjects said, "My race just doesn't hold on to property like other people. I've made advantage of what I got from my mother and father, but it seems that my husband [who was not a middle-class person] and other people don't appreciate this."

One of our subjects expressed considerable resentment toward segregation and discrimination, but this resentment revolved around her own class interests. For her, the phenomenon of race prejudice is even explained in class terms. She attributed most of the difficulties Negroes had in medical clinics to the attitude of the white clerks and described them as being "inconsiderate, low class, and not very bright."

The middle-class group tends to reject the upper class: "I like the middle classes. I like the masses. I go to the masses when I want to solve my problem. I don't cater to the upper class."

The impact of middle-class identification on racial self-conception is deserving of special comment. While there were marked differences in ways in which our middle-class subjects used racial matters, and all of them did recognize the existence of racial discrimination handicaps, yet they still tended to place greater emphasis on class than on color. One subject felt that difference in background rather than difference in color was to blame for the difficulties she was then having with her marriage.

One of our subjects who expressed far more concern with discrimination than did the others rationalized it as a matter of intelligence which cuts across racial lines. She talked of two white boys, apparently of late adolescence, who moved when they found themselves sitting next to her while filling out an application in an employment agency. She described this as "utterly stupid behavior," but tempered the comment with some remarks about the intelligent white people she knew, implying that their intelligence was solely

responsible for their disregard of segregation. These examples demonstrate how this set of middle-class values tends to dominate the way in which these individuals view themselves in relationship to the social world in which they live.

If this picture of middle-class identification is valid, then the interesting question of how it arises becomes pertinent. This middle-class world is an intellectualized world, emphasizing achievement and regarding affective warmth as a sign of weakness that might well interfere with that achievement. For these rather intensively studied subjects who have come to identify themselves with the world primarily in terms of class, their orientation had a common basis in childhood family experiences. They are all college graduates and share a common conception of the class culture in which they live, yet they arrived at this conception by quite different social and psychological paths. It is of considerable significance that all three of our middle-class subjects were, at the time of the original study by Davis and Dollard, undergoing rather tempestuous rebellion, and would be regarded, according to social norms then or now, as maladjusted adolescents.

The matriarchy. Historically, matriarchal families developed early in Negro culture in the United States, primarily due to the separation of husband from wife during slave days, with the wife being responsible for rearing the children. While the structural form of the family has remained the same, the motivations that sustain this form have changed drastically in more recent years. Our subjects whose primary social identification is with this group see the differences between the sexes as the basis for forming a primary social identification; the identification is "woman," and our female subjects who are perpetuating this identification have aligned themselves solidly with their mothers in the battle against men. The intensity of feeling generated by the matriarch identification is revealed in the following quotation: "She commented during the interview that she would never marry again, and pointing to her mother, said: 'That's the only husband I'll ever have.'"

Mothers are seen as the center of these subjects' lives and the primary source of social identification. It is important to note that this is an alignment of one sex against the other, rather than

a clanlike arrangement found among some "primitive" groups. Because this group of subjects conceived and perceived themselves primarily in terms of a sexual identification, it is only natural that they should view their group enemies in sexual terms. There is little question that men receive the unanimous disapproval of the matriarchs and their daughters. For example, Louise, Florence, and Mrs. Lewis were quite vindictive toward men in general, commenting that they were all "dogs," and could not understand how they could be so mean to their children and not support them. Men are also perceived by this group as a source of exploitation. A quote from another interview with Florence's mother, who was talking about the father of her child, reveals this: "I took up with this baby's daddy, he was a sweetheart man. *I was just doing that so as to git good for these here other children*, and I ain't done nothing but to get me more mouths to feed. But now I'm through with all that stuff. No sweetheartin', no nothin'." *Question*: "Did you love him?" *Answer*: "What's love? Ain't no such thing as love. I love this here [pointing to the baby], I love what's part of me, what's come out of me, but love a man, they ain't no such thing. I tell my girls don't hear what no man say, but see how much he's got." Thus, we see a group in which primary social identification is that of a woman; woman aligned with woman cross-generationally, with both perceiving the world as a threatening one. The most threatening object, of course, is man.

Expression of affect is between females, with the mothers demanding and receiving from their daughters unrestrained loyalty and unrequiting love. The marriage of a daughter that results in her leaving the matriarchal home is viewed as undesirable, if not sinful. The devil, of course, is the newly acquired son-in-law.

The gang. The culture of the matriarchy is so emphatic in its exclusion of males that some fraternal organization would have to be invented if it did not already exist. Because of the degradation heaped upon men in general by the dominating matriarchy, male children are deprived of any kind of male ego ideal after which to model themselves. Thus, the child is forced to go to his peer group, to neighborhood gangs, in order to work out some way of bolstering his self-identity. The really deep-felt inadequacy of

this group is best revealed by the symptomatic emphasis that they place on sexual conquests, and the emphasis placed on the most virile of male characteristics. Correspondingly, the out-group toward which they express hostility is not women, but effeminate men. The criminal, or at least illegal, aspect of many of the activities in which they engaged, was largely motivated by attempts to prove power and adequacy. However, the secrecy surrounding these activities generalized and made it difficult, but not impossible, to obtain information on this group. The theme "prove yourself a man" is central and enduring for this group. One subject, who was an inmate in a penitentiary when we interviewed him, disregarded even the special discipline of being assigned to solitary confinement with its attendant added time to his sentence in order to prove his manhood. He said: "You don't win nothing. If you're right, you're wrong. If you're wrong, you're wrong any way it goes. If you feel they're doing you something wrong you just tell 'em about it and go in the 'hole.' You lose the time, but it proves you are a man."

In the gang, pressures to conform to group standards are extremely strong, and are enforced by violent physical punishment. This conformity to group standards characterizes the adult's behavior, just as it did adolescent behavior. Not all of our gang members, however, wound up leading an antisocial life. Some of them were able to find a satisfactory life niche in a socially approved manner, although identification with the gang still remains.

This gang identification means a pattern of life that involves fear of women and the symptomatic reaction of pride in sexual conquest, a social life centering around masculine activities that involve other males, e.g., drinking, gambling, and sports. It is a pattern of living that does not provide for stable family life or for emotional ties to the family. Occupationally, this group ranged from doctors and professional entertainers to dope peddlers. Their attitudes toward color did not represent such a wide range. For those engaged in illegal activities, the significant white people in their lives are the policemen, with whom they play "games." Their losing at these games arouses in them a certain admiration for the law (whites) who, temporarily at least, have proven themselves to

be "better men." But this hardly causes them to aspire to be white (policemen). Our entertainer viewed whites as people he could exploit more easily than his fellow gang members. Why should he forego his strongly held gang values and aspire to being an exploited white?

None of the subjects in this group showed evidence of self-hate because of phantasied white identifications.

The nuclear family group. Our fourth grouping of subjects included those whose life revolved primarily or even exclusively around the family. All of them had been stably married for many years. All of them were quite emphatic on the values they placed on family life. Their most important value, repeatedly emphasized, was family solidarity. By "family solidarity" is meant the special emphasis they placed on the responsibility of parenthood, on reliable and steady employment, and on family support. To a remarkable degree these people exhibited an aura of pervasive emotional ties to their nuclear family group. Contrasted with this is the fact that most of these people have minimum involvement with outside social groups. They do not join clubs. They seldom visit friends. They are not involved particularly in church activities or political movements. Their entire lives revolved around job and family, and they conceive of their jobs as a means to family ends.

These people too had grown up under a variety of socialization influences. Some of them had picked up positive attitudes toward education and achievement that are characteristic of our middle-class group. Some had contact with the matriarchal family and with the gang. However, the fragments of these values held by our other group types were contradictory and partial, and are kept so because of the more strongly held attitudes toward the family. For some of these subjects, the strong attraction to the family is, in fact, a withdrawal reaction, whereby they reduce their worlds to the microcosm of a small household. Thus, all the reactions to color, to class, and other important dimensions of the society in which they live and work, and which are outside their homes, are phrased in terms of denial. For example, one subject interviewed in the North became quite angry when I suggested that the reason she had lived in a Northern city for approximately fifteen years

was that there was less discrimination toward Negroes there than she had encountered in New Orleans. She lectured me for about fifteen minutes on the theme that she had never been discriminated against in New Orleans.

Typically, too, this group frequently used the pronoun "we" when referring to their own individual activities, creating the impression that the whole family was involved. In discussing positive feelings or attachments they used family terms. For example, one subject, who had been in the Navy, was asked how he got along with the white sailors on his baseball team at the Naval Training Station. He replied, "Very well indeed. They treated me like a brother."

Genealogies and family records were important to these subjects. One subject had a family Bible that dated back to 1852 in which all the family genealogy was listed. Perhaps it is equally important to note that 90 percent of the subjects in this group had been reared through adolescence in stable family homes. Thus, we see a group of subjects who tended to adjust to the society in which they found themselves by withdrawing from participation in the activities of secondary institutions and developing strong dependency bonds in the nuclear family group. They recognize and assume the responsibility for the family, they are steady workers, they value the things that education permits them and their children to achieve.

The Bohemians. Two of our subjects may be classified as "Bohemians." This man and woman have gone a long way toward building a consistent social world on Bohemian principles. None of the rules, either for Negro or white society, is accepted without question. And for them, the answers have in the most part led to a denial of the rightness of the norms of either race. One ("Self-made Man" in *Children of Bondage*) has a highly respected master's degree in dramatic arts from a Northern college, yet he has successively lost job after job because of his flouting of conventions. Since there is no well-developed Bohemian life in New Orleans, particularly in the Negro culture, these subjects have regressed to some of the earlier learned ways of gaining social support. For example, during the time "Self-made Man" was in high school, he

supported himself in part as a gambler on Rampart Street. He still goes back to Rampart Street and gambles. He has been a college teacher. In one recent year he successively served as a master of ceremonies in a night club, performed as a disc jockey, worked as a waiter in a hotel, and as a lifeguard at a beach. What this demonstrated is that he has no consistent primary social identification, he has been unable to integrate for himself a pattern of values. This lack of a consistent patterning around a primary social identification has resulted in some rather severe pathology in his personality make-up. The patterning of ego defenses used in adolescence is still the current patterning. It is rather paradoxical that the defenses he used as an adolescent, and regarded as desirable and right, should interfere so greatly with his adjustment as an adult. As a matter of fact, one of our major findings is that the basic ways of defending and enhancing ego are highly stable from adolescence to adulthood. What changes is the societal norms for sanctioning or nonsanctioning these same habitual ways of adjusting. Perhaps "Self-made Man" is the best example of this we have.

So far we have sketched in the general cultural background of the lives of the people we studied, and the way in which they have made primary social identifications that, in turn, have structured the ways they have adapted to the culture in which they live. I shall now relate their intrapsychic functioning to these social and cultural factors.

Erik Homburger Erikson,⁴ in a number of writings, has paid much attention to the concept of ego identity, a concept which denotes certain comprehensive gains that the individual, at the end of adolescence, must have derived from all of his pre-adult experiences in order to be ready for the task of adulthood. Erikson notes that there are certain psychosocial crises which have to be met and successfully dealt with if one is to achieve maturity. These crises are: in infancy, the development of trust vs. the development of mistrust; in early childhood, the development of autonomy vs. shame and doubt; at the play age, the development of initiative

⁴Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, IV (1956), 56-121. My discussion on psychodynamic functioning draws heavily on this article.

vs. guilt; at school age, the development of industry vs. inferiority; at adolescence, the development of ego identity vs. identity diffusion; and at young adulthood, the development of intimacy vs. isolation.

We are particularly concerned with the problem of ego identity vs. identity diffusion, since we have the rich data on adolescence furnished us by Davis and Dollard, and since we have been able to follow through the subsequent life patterns of these people. I shall now pick up our primary social identification groups, examine briefly how those identifications grew out of support, or lack of support, given the groups at each of the psychosocial crisis periods met by our subjects, and then relate the presence or absence of support to the psychodynamics of our subjects.

The middle-class group. Our middle-class group was the one whose primary social identification was with a classic set of middle-class values. All of them, at adolescence, were in a period of symptomatic rebellion against adult authority. The rebellion represented their struggle to establish a clear-cut ego identity. All of them emerged from that struggle with a clear-cut sense of ego identity as contrasted with the identity diffusion we shall see in some of our other subjects. All of these subjects obtained this identity by a process resulting in an emotional isolation in young adulthood that prevents them from developing any kind of warm emotional relationships with other individuals. Their lives are denuded of emotion and reclothed with intellectualization.

Each of these had strict, rejecting, anxiety-laden mothers with whom they identified at an unconscious level. The father of each of the subjects tended to indulge them, and the subjects early learned to exploit this indulgence. All of them presented neurotic stigmata and all of them have had difficulties in establishing stable marital relationships.

Finally, all of these subjects were fortunate during their developmental years in having a clear-cut ego ideal, an adult person whom they admired very much who provided them with support during the psychosocial crises, and whom they tried to emulate. One subject had two such figures: an influential aunt and a white

grandmother. Incidentally, this is the only case in which we have strong evidence in support of Kardiner's self-hate hypothesis. The self-hate appears not to be due to any kind of caste restrictions *per se*, but due to the more idiosyncratic factor that as a young child, this subject wanted to be very much like her white grandmother. She was able to resolve somewhat these feelings of self-hate by later adopting as her ego ideal an influential aunt. The emergence of the ego ideal identification with the aunt started during adolescence and became dominant during young adulthood. In her attempt to meet the ego identity crisis this girl from the lower classes had married at the age of fifteen, was divorced at sixteen, and successively put herself through beauty culture school, secretarial school, finished high school, and graduated from college; an almost superhuman effort. In the case of our successful business operator, the ego ideal happened to be her father, which accounts much for the problem that she has had with her married life. With the male teacher the identity crisis, to a considerable degree, was eased by the support given him in his high school days by a greatly respected teacher.

The matriarch group. From infancy our matriarch group had faulty psychosocial development through the development of mistrust, a fault that was never corrected. At adolescence their ego identity was never clarified, and we find with this group a considerable amount of bisexual identification. Going along with this lack of ego identity is a lack of any time perspective which would permit adequate planning in their lives. The lack of identity resulted in a kind of work paralysis that gives rise to sporadic work habits. Because of their inability to develop self-identity, these subjects exhibit much mood depression. One of the subjects had a psychotic episode during the period in which we were studying them, and all of them had strong neurotic stigmata. The matriarchy, with its strong distrust of males, early forced a paranoid elaboration on these subjects.

The gang group. Pretty much the same picture is painted of our gang group, all of whom grew up in matriarchal homes and early learned that man was a no-good animal. Those subjects who had opportunities to establish male ego ideals—who were able to

identify with a person who provided emotional support during the identity crisis and after whom they tended to mold their lives—came through the identity crisis successfully.

The nuclear family group. The members of this group have one characteristic in common: a strong feeling of dependency. As mentioned earlier, each of these subjects came from a stable family. In attempting to meet the ego identity crises at adolescence, their mode of adjusting was to regress to earlier childhood modes of adjusting. For all of the subjects in this group, marriage has been a solution, by default, to the problem of ego identity. For them, marriage and the strong solidarity of family life are, in reality, ways of gratifying their dependency feelings. Going along with this is the marked social isolation from groups outside the family. All of them, both men and women, have chosen mates who have in common a rather strong mothering way of acting toward them.

One may ask why this group of people reared in stable families have not been able to evolve a more mature identity. In looking for an answer to this question we discovered that this group had another characteristic in common. Their families demanded they be dependent. By demanding dependency they were preventing their children from engaging in role experimentation necessary for evolving a more mature psychodynamic structure. Most of the people in this group were characterized by spells of depression and despair.

The Bohemians. Our Bohemian group emerged from the identity crisis with contradictory partial ego identities. What in their background led to this kind of situation? Both subjects in this group continue to act out repressed rages felt toward their mother. Their mothers had in common a marked status awareness. Anxious for their children to get ahead, they pushed them to the impossible. They did not permit our subjects any kind of realistic goal setting, nor did they provide them with any moratorium during the identity crisis to integrate their achievements with past experiences. Hence for these subjects, greater and better achievement became a goal in itself, and they charged off in all directions, achieving here and achieving there, with a net result of partial, fragmented self-identities. Going along with these partial ego iden-

ties that the Bohemian group have worked out for themselves is a corresponding bisexual confusion. They are college graduates with rather superior intellectual endowment. Yet because they were not able successfully to resolve their earlier psychosocial crises, when they reached the one at adolescence there was no solution for it, and hence the lack of ego identification. Too, the lack of ego identity for these subjects has been blocked by the habitual ways they have used to defend and enhance themselves. These ego defenses had been established at least by adolescence and were still actively and stably operating in adulthood.

Our interest in undertaking the study was due to two things: (1) a continuation, on a longitudinal basis, of the study of personality development and manifestation in this group of people; (2) the fact that these people were Negroes and had been exposed to color-caste discriminations.

One of the most important contributions made by the original *Children of Bondage* study was that factors associated with social class were of perhaps greater importance to the development of the Negro adolescent personality than was color-caste discrimination. Our study goes one step further and documents the fact that relationships holding in the family group, or "substitute family" groups, are of a greater importance than social class factors or color-caste discrimination. The most important factor in the family grouping is the presence of significant adult figures who serve as ego ideals and who provide considerable emotional support to the individual at each of his developmental psychosocial crises periods.

The effects of color-caste discrimination apparently are far more tenuous and oblique than would be implied by the rather simple, straightforward notion that color-caste discrimination blights personality development. The impact of color-caste discrimination is felt in the development of cultural forms and institutional structures in Negro life. These, in turn, shape the kinds of relationships that may develop between child and parent, or parent surrogate.

A second finding of our study is the fact that ego defenses, those ways of enhancing and protecting self, are highly stable from adolescence on, and that society tends to evaluate differently the

desirability or undesirability of these defenses at adolescence and in adulthood. The implication of this finding, I think, is rather straightforward and direct: social norms will need to be changed so that they are no longer contradictory from one developmental period to another, a change that will facilitate an orderly psychosocial development.

WHAT SOCIAL SCIENCE SAYS ABOUT GROUPS

by *EDGAR F. BORGATTA*

MUCH OF THE THEORY of behavior in small groups was clearly outlined and structured at the turn of the century by such writers as Simmel and Cooley, although contributions were made by many others, including Bagehot, Baldwin, Dewey, Durkheim, James, Ross, and Royce. However, the focused attention of sociologists and psychologists on research in small group behavior virtually did not occur until the second quarter of this century. Strodbeck and Hare,¹ in the introductory note to their Bibliography, indicate that research in this area was slow to start but accelerated at a rapid rate, with more than 150 relevant items being published each year since 1950.

What is a group? A sociology textbook definition might be, for example, as follows: A group is "any collection of persons who are bound together by a distinctive set of social relations. . . . Two persons form a group if they are friends or partners or otherwise held together and set apart from others."² But we may find additional or different specifications in other definitions, as in the

¹ F. L. Strodbeck and A. P. Hare, "Bibliography of Small Group Research (from 1900 through 1953)," *Sociometry*, XVII (1954), 107-78.

² L. Broom and P. Selznick, *Sociology* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955), p. 28.

one used by Cattell: A group is "a set of people who satisfy their needs consciously and unconsciously through the existence and instrumentality of this set of people."³ Or, the definition may be general and inclusive. Examination of definitions will indicate a range from the most general and inclusive to the most detailed and specific.

Once any definition is stated, however, there is implicit a classification of whether or not certain aggregates are groups. Fortunately, not too much time has been spent by researchers and theorists on this kind of endeavor in recent years, although only last year a lead article of a major sociological journal dealt with the reality of groups.⁴

Even in the long-range view we can discriminate between theorists who have concerned themselves with the definition and reality of the group and those interested in establishing the analytic importance of limited classification systems, such as ingroup vs. outgroup, formal vs. informal, small vs. large, voluntary vs. involuntary, open vs. closed. Ever since Simmel's brilliant analysis,⁵ giving attention to the ordering and classification of group phenomena has been considered respectable occupation among sociologists, and we are familiar with detailed textbook treatments such as those of von Wiese, Lundberg, and Chapin,⁶ and of the detailed but less rigorous considerations of Brown and Coyle.⁷ Systematic attention to the problem of group classification occurs in articles by Sanderson and Lundberg.⁸

³R. B. Cattell, "Determining Syntality Dimensions as a Basis for Morale and Leadership Measurement," in H. Guetzkow, ed., *Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951), p. 19.

⁴C. K. Warriner, "Groups are Real: a Reaffirmation," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (1956), 549-54.

⁵The central writings of Simmel as translated by A. W. Small at the turn of the century are reprinted in abbreviated form in E. F. Borgatta and H. J. Meyer, eds., *Sociological Theory* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1956); another translation is available in K. Wolff, tr. and ed., *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

⁶L. Von Wiese and H. Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: Wiley, 1932); G. A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1939); F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper, 1935).

⁷B. W. Brown, *Social Groups* (Chicago: Faithborn, 1926); G. L. Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups* (New York: R. R. Smith, 1930).

⁸D. Sanderson, "Group Description," *Social Forces*, XVI (1938), 309-19; Sanderson,

Probably the major contribution of social science to our knowledge of group behavior is, essentially, the setting of the systematic classification of group phenomena on a solid empirical basis: that is, the wisdom and logic already displayed are in process now of being brought into conformity with the manifest world as we find it. This empirical attack appears to arise in at least two approaches, one associated with the development of the factor analytic technique, and one closer to traditional theory construction. The factor analytic applications with social data appear to start in terms of problems of geographical classification,⁹ but they are brought directly to experimentation and description of small group behavior by Cattell's work in 1948.¹⁰ The Cattell and Wispe study was pioneer in character, and its findings while primitive were suggestive, indicating the existence of at least five independent group qualities: a group intelligence factor; three having to do with morale and cohesiveness; and the last a group aggressiveness factor. However, Cattell's main contribution is found in his theoretical distinction between several kinds of measures, called "syntality," "structural," and "population" characteristics. We define a syntality characteristic as one which is associated with an aggregate and cannot be accounted for merely by the additive properties or arrangement of properties of the group members. Thus, a syntality characteristic is one which emerges as a product of the interaction of the members. This formulation, because it has been tied directly to research operations, has led to important consequences. It has indicated the futility of theorizing about the reality of the group, for it is apparent that aggregates may vary according to each of the syntality dimensions which can be identified, and thus "reality" in the historical sense is demonstrable through any of the identified syntality characteristics.

"A Preliminary Structural Classification of Groups," *ibid.*, XVII (1938), 1-6; G. A. Lundberg, "Some Problems of Group Classification and Measurement," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 351-60.

⁹ For early applications see D. O. Price, "Factor Analysis in the Study of Metropolitan Centers," *Social Forces*, XX (1942), 449-55; M. J. Hagood and E. H. Bernert, "Component Indexes as a Basis for Stratification in Sampling," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XL (1945), 330-41.

¹⁰ R. B. Cattell, "Concepts and Methods in the Measurement of Group Syntality," *Psychological Review*, LV (1948), 48-63; Cattell and L. G. Wispe, "The Dimensions of Syntality in Small Groups," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVIII (1948), 57-78.

What are the syntality characteristics? Let us bring to the fore the work of Hemphill and Westie which has appeal since it is based on a direct attempt to wed past theory and current research techniques.¹¹ On the basis of a comprehensive survey of relevant materials they amassed a large number of descriptive characteristics which were then screened and ordered into fourteen dimensions they felt were relatively general, simple, independent, and theoretically cogent:

1. *Autonomy* is the degree to which a group functions independently of other groups.

2. *Control* is the degree to which a group regulates the behavior of its members.

3. *Flexibility* is the degree to which a group's activities are marked by informal procedures rather than by adherence to rigidly structured procedures.

4. *Hedonic tone* is the degree to which group participation is accompanied by a general feeling of pleasantness or agreeableness.

5. *Homogeneity* is the degree to which members of a group possess similar characteristics.

6. *Intimacy* is the degree to which members of a group are familiar with the personal details of one another's lives.

7. *Participation* is the degree to which members of a group apply time and effort to group activities.

8. *Permeability* is the degree to which a group permits ready access to membership.

9. *Polarization* is the degree to which a group is oriented and works toward a single goal which is clear and specific to all members.

10. *Potency* is the degree to which a group has significance for its members.

11. *Size* is the number of members of the group.

12. *Stability* is the degree to which a group persists over a period of time with essentially the same characteristics.

¹¹ J. K. Hemphill and C. M. Westie, "The Measurement of Group Dimensions," *Journal of Psychology*, XXIX (1950), 325-42; Hemphill, *Situational Factors in Leadership*, Ohio State University Educational Research Monograph No. 32 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1949); Hemphill, *Group Dimensions: a Manual for Their Measurement*, Bureau of Business Research Monograph No. 87 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1956).

13. *Stratification* is the degree to which a group orders its members into status hierarchies.

14. *Viscidty* is the degree to which members of the group function as a unit.

Analysis of the Hemphill and Westie data suggests that while these fourteen dimensions constitute a useful theoretical schema, they still provide only an interim resolution of the problem of classification since the schema was assumed and only partially justified. It should be noted that the empirical approach to the classification of syntality characteristics is new, with only a few studies available,¹² while in other areas, such as personality or the abilities as comparisons, there have been scores of them.¹³

It is quite apparent that empirically based theory will result from these systematic approaches. A recent comprehensive review suggests that there is some convergence already visible in the location of independent variables.¹⁴ Joint examination of three studies indicates relatively clear replication of three major variables for the description of group phenomena:

1. *Role structure acceptance*, or the degree of allocation of roles and leadership, responsible acceptance of structure, and presence of a sense of direction for group members

2. *Group task interest*, or the degree of orientation toward the achievement of a common goal

3. *Group hedonic tone*, or the degree of direct satisfaction and ingroup feeling.

In addition, there is less clear replication of other factors, such as one of procedural rigidity, or the degree of dependence on formal *vs.* informal structures; one of interactive freedom, or the degree of common (democratic) participation of members; and dis-

¹² R. B. Cattell, D. R. Saunders, and G. F. Stice, "The Dimensions of Syntality in Small Groups," *Human Relations*, VI (1953), 331-56; E. F. Borgatta and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "On the Classification of Groups," *Sociometry*, XVIII (1955), 665-78.

¹³ See, for example, the compilation and classification of studies in these areas in the following: J. W. French, *The Description of Aptitude and Achievement Tests in Terms of Rotated Factors*, Psychometric Monograph No. 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951); French, *The Description of Personality Measurements in Terms of Rotated Factors* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1953); R. B. Cattell, "The Principal Replicated Factors Discovered in Objective Personality Tests," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, L (1955), 291-314.

¹⁴ E. F. Borgatta, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., and H. J. Meyer, "On the Dimensions of Group Behavior," *Sociometry*, XIX (1956), 223-40.

cussional involvement, which peculiarly appears to be associated with some tendency for persons with higher I.Q.'s to talk around a problem because they assume rather than establish a common base of communication.

If we examine the apparently replicated categories mentioned immediately above, we might well expect the qualities described to arise in interaction. Let us note, however, that our interest in the influence of members on each other could lead us to ignore the importance of other aspects of form that are determined externally. For example, the categories of autonomy (self-determination), permeability, and stability which are proposed by Hemphill and Westie are held constant in the other two group classification studies in this field. These categories indicate some frame of reference beyond the confines of the interaction performance; that is, there is implicit an external frame of reference. Little attention has been given in the research literature to the small group as defined in terms of its relationship to other groups or as a part of a larger structure. The reason for this may be the difficulty of experimental manipulation. On the other hand, the ingenious attempts to introduce "pressure" or external and competing values into a group, as well as other approaches, give us confidence that our bounds of knowledge in this area will be expanded in the future.

Group size. The variable of size also differs from our list of replications, but in a different way. Rather than arising from interaction, size appears to be a purely morphological category. There has been separate attention given to this variable; for example, a recent annotated bibliography of small group research notes over seventy-five items relevant to this topic.¹⁵

Some of the relevant literature involves quite elementary considerations. For example, it has been noted that if the number of persons in a group increases arithmetically, the number of relationships possible among the members increases much faster; how fast, depends on what kinds of relationships are counted.¹⁶

¹⁵ A. P. Hare, E. F. Borgatta, and R. F. Bales, eds., *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1955).

¹⁶ J. H. S. Bossard, "The Law of Family Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 292-94; W. M. Kephart, "A Quantitative Analysis of Intragroup Relationships," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1950), 544-49.

Attention has also been given to the variable of size in terms of what may be called the "distribution tendencies of aggregates." James,¹⁷ for example, collected data on the characteristics of "free-forming" groups, noting that according to frequency of occurrence there was a radically decreasing curve from sizes two to seven, with two- and three-person groups accounting for virtually all of the aggregates. Observation of a limited set of organizations and their subgroup structures, however, yielded markedly larger units, with a mean size for the subgroups of about five persons. It is difficult to see how significant findings will result directly from such a research attack, although it is possible that some *ad hoc* generalizations derived elsewhere can be substantiated. Bales,¹⁸ for example, in a review of his work in terms of applications for business conference procedures, suggests that the five-person group is of sufficient size to incorporate most of the desirable properties for task-oriented interaction while avoiding some of the undesirable structural properties of other sizes. This number happens to coincide with the mean size for subgroups in organizations reported by James, providing us with the opportunity of suggesting that Bales has located the magical number for conference size through his inferences, and that organizational subgroups as a matter of experience and design gravitate to that size.

The proportion of acts initiated and received by persons in groups of different sizes has received consideration by a number of researchers.¹⁹ At this point it is indicated that several simple (mathematical) models will fit the data of rate of interaction, from highest to lowest initiator, according to group size, but the practical utility of this finding has yet to be demonstrated.

Probably of more direct interest are the studies which orient

¹⁷ J. James, "A Preliminary Study of the Size Determinant in Small Group Interaction," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 474-77; James, "The Distribution of Free-forming Small Group Size," *ibid.*, XVIII (1953), 569-70.

¹⁸ R. F. Bales, "In Conference," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXII (1954), 44-50.

¹⁹ R. F. Bales et al., "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 461-68; J. B. Keller, "Comment on 'Channels of Communications in Small Groups,'" *ibid.*, pp. 842-43; Bales, "Reply to Keller's Comment," *ibid.*, p. 843; F. F. Stephan, "The Relative Rate of Communication between Members of Small Groups," *ibid.*, XVII (1952), 482-86; Stephan and E. G. Mishler, "The Distribution of Participation in Small Groups: an Exponential Approximation," *ibid.*, pp. 598-608.

themselves around isolating the apparent consequences of group size. Thus, for example, Hare²⁰ experimented with discussion groups of size five and twelve and found that if the time period is limited, the smaller groups appear to have more consensus in their decisions. Further, while the leader appears to have more influence in the smaller group, leadership skill appears to be a more important factor in consensus in the larger groups. Satisfaction with the results of discussion is less in the larger group, presumably as a consequence of the fact that the larger the number of persons in the group the less chance each has to talk.²¹

Bales and Borgatta²² studied groups of sizes two to seven inclusive, and noted a strong confirmation of the early observations on size by Simmel. They found three effects of size: (a) those that vary directly with size; (b) those that appear to be associated with odd and even numbers in the group; and (c) those that appear to be unique for a given size. The effects that are associated directly with size appear to result from the decrease in opportunity to participate and also from the necessity to participate with more persons. Thus, for example, one is generally expected to be cordial and greet others in any group, and more of this activity must go on in the larger groups; thus, proportionately more time and more acts are devoted to this activity within a given meeting. Or, if a joke is told to a group, more people can laugh at it. In terms of the odd-and-even effect, excluding size two which is unique, even-sized groups show more antagonism than odd-sized groups. Finally, in terms of unique aspects of size, groups of size two appear to operate at high levels of tension with low levels of disagreement and antagonism.

A recent study by Ziller²³ considers a similar sequence of group

²⁰ A. P. Hare, "A Study of Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (1952), 261-67.

²¹ The restriction of size on opportunity to participate or be a leader has been observed in many places. Note, for example, B. M. Bass and F. M. Norton, "Group Size and Leaderless Discussions," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXV (1951), 397-400.

²² R. F. Bales and E. F. Borgatta, "A Study of Group Size: Size of Group as a Factor in the Interaction Profile," in Hare, Borgatta, and Bales, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-413.

²³ R. C. Ziller, "Group Size: a Determinant of the Quality and Stability of Group Decisions," *Sociometry* (1957, forthcoming).

sizes, from two to six, but was oriented to examination of the quality of group decisions. Decisions in this case were defined as actions based on incomplete information. Ziller's work dealt with accuracy of decisions, and the general finding was that accuracy increases with group size, and that groups of size six appear to be more consistent in performance than smaller ones, and groups of size four and five seem to do less well than might be expected on a basis of a simple linear relationship.

Our excursion into what social science has to say about group size has been broad, yet it is not complete. We should recognize that many "together and apart" studies can really be considered examinations of the effect of group size. In these the effectiveness of individuals according to specified criteria is compared when they participate alone and when they participate in the presence of others, but comparisons have been made of individual products as compared to the group product as well. The early history of these studies is closely tied to the former kind of comparison as found, for example, in the work of Allport.²⁴

Let us examine two studies which illustrate how the "together and apart" approach may be considered an aspect of studies of group size. The first study is by Perlmutter and De Montmollin.²⁵ The task utilized in this experiment was the learning of nonsense syllables, and the results may be summarized as follows: prior group experience appeared to be a significant factor in individual learning; that is, persons who had the experience of working in a group before they worked individually tended to have a better rate of recall than did individuals who worked separately first. Group learning, however, was equally good regardless of whether or not it was preceded by individual experience. The group learning curve resembled that of individual learning, but was more accelerated. In regard to the comparison of individuals and groups, groups were found to have higher recall than the average for individuals. However, if the best individuals in each group were

²⁴ F. H. Allport, "The Influence of the Group upon Association and Thought," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, III (1920), 159-82; Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924).

²⁵ H. V. Perlmutter and G. De Montmollin, "Group Learning of Nonsense Syllables," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVII (1952), 762-69.

compared to the group as a whole, it was found the group was not statistically significantly better than these individuals. Furthermore, in seven of the twenty samples observed, individuals had performances which were better or equal to those of the group in which they participated. While other results were derived from this study, these represent the kind of knowledge that results from this class of "together and apart" researches. In part, the generalization to be made is that since the task is not of a nature which requires a group for completion, the results found are as would be expected on the most common-sense basis. This, then, may lead us to a somewhat skeptical view of the "together and apart" experiments.

The second experiment reported here is that of Taylor and Faust.²⁶ Utilizing the popular game of Twenty Questions, efficiency in finding the correct solutions was examined for individuals, groups of two, and groups of four persons each. The findings were as follows: improvement occurred in the performance both of individuals and of groups, and the usual learning curve occurred. Group performances were superior to the individual performances according to the number of questions, the number of failures, and the time required per problem, but the performance of groups of four was not found to be superior to that of the groups of two. If the criterion of efficiency is the number of man-minutes required for a solution, however, there is no ambiguity about the superiority of individuals over that of groups, and as might well be expected the performance of groups of two on this criterion was also superior to that of groups of four. In apparent contradiction to the Perlmutter and De Montmollin study, individual practice appeared to be as effective for individual performance as practice when a member of a group.

Both these studies are well designed and sophisticated within the limits in which they are drawn. However, and as is suggested even from our previous discussion, size is not only a continuous variable running from zero to infinity. While it does have this

²⁶ D. W. Taylor and W. L. Faust, "Twenty Questions: Efficiency in Problem Solving as a Function of Size of Group," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XLIV (1952), 360-68.

kind of property in regard to certain qualities of behavior, there are unique characteristics associated with certain group sizes and there are also the odd-and-even effects. Further, reading of the various studies in this area will lead one to recognize the sensitivity of the findings to the task which is utilized. At this point the experience of "together and apart" studies in terms of the connotations of size are rather narrowly defined and difficult to generalize. Since this is the case, it is possible to suggest that a more appropriate approach in regard to the satisfaction of any task as performed by individuals or groups of various sizes may be to orient the study around the location of (a) the regularities in terms of size which may be observed in regard to the task, and (b) the optimum size for maximum efficiency in regard to a given criterion. We are apparently defining specific tasks or situations to be satisfied and then requesting knowledge about certain characteristics in regard to the accomplishment of the task. This is frequently considered to be the role of applied science. Obviously, this can be extremely useful, but if studies are to be of an applied nature, they may just as well center on more pressing problems or more general definitions than appear to have been taken up to now.

On the basis of the research reported, we certainly do not have a complete picture, but as it is placed into the context of our experience we may find it possible to choose more correctly from among our many competing hypotheses about size as a factor in social interaction. To speculate loosely for a moment, for example, if free-forming groups gravitate to sizes three and two, we may presume a selective force to operate and to have something to do with compatibility. Then, in our theory formation, we may suggest that small groups place a special demand on compatibility and, further, we might propose that in the presence of compatibility the relationship moves in the direction of intimacy. This, of course, corresponds to our notions of lovers, buddies, and even may fit our stereotype of the boss-secretary and other relationships. It is also part of the context of the common psychoanalyst-patient, confessor-mentor, counselor-counselee, and social worker-client dyads, and the relevance in these broad terms is scarcely

explored. In regard to these therapeutic dyads, when they extend over time, how much effort is devoted to avoiding a gravitation to intimacy, and what effect does this have on the communication system and the therapy? Is the intimacy of the relationship that develops itself part of the therapy? And, if the gravitation to intimacy should interfere with the therapy, are therapeutic approaches that avoid this by occurring in groups of larger size more effective?

Let us continue our speculation a bit further and observe a few more outcomes. If the selective pull for work groups, committees, and the like is toward size five, the conclusion might be that under size five, personal factors are emphasized. If compatibility for the group as a whole should occur in a small group, it may be superior, but since this is apparently not the common case, personal factors are better underplayed in the work group. Thus, the size that appears to be of sufficient magnitude for permissive give-and-take, and with this the implication of withdrawal without loss of honor, may be size five or six. This is contrasted to forced give-and-take in the smaller groups. In addition, obviously, in the larger group there is the possibility of shifting of social alignments within the group with less serious consequences than in the smaller group. The little theory we are building seems to say that very small groups are likely to incline toward the clique or the intimate pair in character; larger groups are more likely to incline toward the club. We have not given place in our theory to much of the available observation about groups in applied settings, such as the frequent preference for psychotherapy groups of about size ten, and the common restriction of panel discussion audiences to sizes under thirty, and so forth. Similarly, we have not considered the individual either as being alone by himself or alone because he is with too many others. Still, it should be evident at this point that research in the area of size has made some contributions, that there is a need for systematic theory and empirical exploration, and that the problems involved are real and have important consequences in applied areas.

Leadership. Probably the most important development in the area of leadership study has been the increasing insistence on a

specification of *leadership for what*. This insistence has manifested itself in a number of ways, and we shall indicate several. In the area of sociometric measurement, for example, Jennings²⁷ has emphasized the distinction between the sociotelic and psychetelic questions and, correspondingly, the leaders chosen through these questions. In common parlance the former are identified as leaders according to popularity for task or work relationships, while the latter are identified in terms of popularity for social relationships. Leadership is in this case defined as recognition by the group members through their choices on the sociometric test.

Leadership as defined by popular choice, however, has its limits for understanding what goes on in the group. Moreno, for example,²⁸ indicated that there are several types of leaders which may occur in the group, and he particularly distinguished between the popular leader and the powerful individual, pointing out that the latter may not be popular. This has been reinforced in research in several quarters. For example, Gibb,²⁹ using sociometric data, examined several criteria of leadership simultaneously and did not find them to coincide with ratings of leadership by observers.

Leadership as defined by sociometric choice, when viewed in a more general context of leadership studies, immediately brings to attention the shortcomings of the theoretical base. The dichotomy of psychetelic and sociotelic leaders appears to be confirmed in other approaches. Bales,³⁰ for example, found that the

²⁷ H. H. Jennings, "Structure of Leadership—Development and Sphere of Influence," *Sociometry*, I (1937), 99-143; Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation* (2d ed.; New York: Longmans, Green, 1943); Jennings, "Sociometric Differentiation of the Psychogroup and the Sociogroup," *Sociometry*, X (1947), 71-79.

²⁸ J. L. Moreno in collaboration with H. H. Jennings, *Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Diseases Monograph No. 58*, 1934 (rev. ed.; Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon Press, 1953). Also see Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*; F. S. Chapin, "Sociometric Stars as Isolates," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (1950), 263-67; J. H. Criswell and Jennings, "A Critique of Chapin's 'Sociometric Stars as Isolates,'" *ibid.*, LVII (1951), 260-64; Chapin, "Comment," *ibid.*, p. 264.

²⁹ C. A. Gibb, "The Sociometry of Leadership in Temporary Groups," *Sociometry*, XIII (1950), 226-43.

³⁰ R. F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1950); Bales and P. E. Slater, "Role Differentiation," in T. Parsons *et al.*, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955); P. E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1955), 300-10.

persons who are chosen for having the "best ideas" and the persons chosen as being "most liked" are clearly different even in terms of such a gross measure as the basic talking rate in the group. Comparing the criteria of best ideas, guiding the discussion, and liking, Bales finds that the association between being a leader and being liked is the smallest. His work with this distinction between the idea man and the most liked person has been extended and explored in detail in further research on role differentiation and interaction characteristics in small group behavior.

The question of what leadership is, has been discussed extensively in popular writing, in practical approaches, and in scientific theories. Among the last-named, some of the more perceptive and balanced writing is to be found in the work of Gibb,³¹ who placed emphasis on the definition of leadership according to the goal of the group. Gibb called attention to the difference between (a) leadership as a quality which is associated with an individual, and (b) leadership as a quality which is measured according to the influence on group behavior. Thus, he emphasized the issue drawn by Pigors some years earlier.³² This, however, does not yet complete the pertinent questions about leadership because again one needs to ask: Influence in regard to what?

At this point we may return to the classification of group phenomena. Cattell³³ suggested that leadership be defined by the influence of a person on the syntality characteristic of the group. The implication is immediately that there are as many kinds of leadership as there are characteristics of group behavior. While there are some obvious limitations to this kind of definition, it does place an additional emphasis against defining leadership as a general trait as has so often been done.

³¹ C. A. Gibb, "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLII (1947), 267-84; Gibb, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Leadership," *Occupational Psychology*, XXV (1951), 233-48; Gibb, "Leadership," in G. Lindzey, *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 877-920.

³² P. J. W. Pigors, *Leadership or Domination* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935).

³³ R. B. Cattell, "New Concepts for Measuring Leadership in Terms of Group Syntality," *Human Relations*, IV (1951), 161-84; Cattell, "Determining Syntality Dimension as a Basis for Morale and Leadership Measurement," in Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-27.

Here we may mark a convergence of substantial moment. Couch and Carter,³⁴ in a replicating factor analytic study, identified three characteristics observable in the interaction which accounted for most of the variance of the participation of individual members. The three major descriptive categories which kept recurring in their work are:

1. *Individual prominence*, associated with traits of aggressiveness, leadership, confidence, striving for individual recognition, and generally indicating the prominence of the individual in terms of standing out from others in the group

2. *Group goal facilitation*, associated with traits of efficiency, adaptability, cooperation, and facilitation of group action in terms of the task

3. *Group sociability*, associated with sociability, striving for group acceptance, adaptability, and in general an element of friendliness and socioemotional involvement of the individual with other members.

Carter,³⁵ who has given intensive attention to the leadership area, presented a review of factor analytic studies of rated and observed interaction behavior of individuals, including his own studies with Couch. From these he generalized that in fact three major variables coincided for each, and for these he provided slightly different names from the above-mentioned: individual prominence and achievement; aiding attainment by the group; and sociability. A first point of convergence appears to be the

³⁴ A. Couch and L. F. Carter, "A Factorial Study of the Rated Behavior of Group Members," paper read at Eastern Psychological Association, 1952.

³⁵ L. F. Carter, "Recording and Evaluating the Performance of Individuals as Members of Small Groups," *Personnel Psychology*, VII (1954), 477-84; Carter, "Some Research on Leadership in Small Groups," in Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-57; Carter, "Leadership and Small Group Behavior," in M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson, eds., *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper, 1953), pp. 257-84. Carter and his associates have done important research leading to discriminations concerning leadership, task, size, and other variables. See, for example, L. F. Carter, W. Haythorn, and M. Howell, "A Further Investigation of the Criteria of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLV (1950), 350-58; Carter *et al.*, "The Behavior of Leaders and Other Group Members," *ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 589-95; Carter and M. Nixon, "Ability, Perceptual, Personality, and Interest Factors Associated with Different Criteria of Leadership," *Journal of Psychology*, XXVII (1949), 377-88; Carter and Nixon, "An Investigation of the Relationship between Four Criteria of Leadership Ability for Three Different Tasks," *ibid.*, pp. 245-61.

confirmation of the *ad hoc* leadership categories previously noted in the literature, the psychetelic and sociotelic leaders, although it now becomes obvious that the *ad hoc* categories provided only two out of the three necessary identifications.

More important, however, is the second point of convergence, which is that the three syntality characteristics we have noted as having reasonably clear replication appear to parallel the individual dimensions. In particular, *role structure acceptance* corresponds with *individual prominence and achievement*; *group task interest* with *aiding attainment by the group*; and *group hedonic tone* with *sociability*. The crucial point here is the possibility that leadership traits as defined through syntality characteristics may correspond directly with what we may consider to be the three major differentiations of behavior in terms of individuals. If this convergence should prove to be a real one, we can suggest that in this transitivity there is a degree of orderliness to group phenomena which we have not previously anticipated. Since the derivations involved in the development of these two parallel typologies were independent, we may be relatively optimistic in this regard. An implicit point, which supports the notion of orderliness suggested, is the small number of descriptive categories required. In terms of the thousands of descriptive adjectives we have for describing behavior, consider the significance of the fact that only three general descriptive categories appear to be necessary for the description of the interaction performance of individuals.

It may appear that undue attention has been given to factor analytic studies. The reason is not that factor analysis is magical, but rather that it is something minimum. It serves, as we have seen, to help crystallize descriptions we wish to carry out, to assist us in organizing our data. In an important sense, thus, these studies represent the beginning of research in this area rather than its culmination.

We may illustrate at least one direction for research that builds upon the principles of systematic research under review. Haythorn³⁶ developed ingenious direct measures of individual influ-

³⁶ W. Haythorn, "The Influence of Individual Members on the Characteristics of Small Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVIII (1953), 276-84.

ence on the group performance by rotating a set of subjects over a series of sessions, and then assigning to the subjects influence scores based on the ratings of the groups in which they participated instead of on their own performance. He examined these in terms of a variety of personality and behavioral measures taken for the subjects, and it is of value to report some of the findings. First, being high on a sociometric criterion of leadership appears to be associated with increasing the morale, cooperativeness, cohesiveness, motivation, and interest in job completion of the groups. This finding not only showed up in the member ratings of groups, but also tended to be replicated in the independent ratings of group performance made by external observers. More generally, however, in terms of the Carter schema, the findings were as follows: if the individual was high on individual prominence, the result was low group friendliness; if the individual was high on group goal facilitation, the result was high group morale, cooperativeness, motivation, and interest in job completion; and if the individual was high on sociability, the result was high group talkativeness and interest in social interaction, and low group motivation and competition.

The comparison of observer group ratings with personality characteristics of members as derived from a standard test, the Cattell "16 Personality Factor Questionnaire," were more dramatic. Of ten statistically significant findings, all were in the predicted directions. Some of the observed relationships were: Emotional stability or ego strength in the individual results in group morale, productivity, and interest in job completion. Paranoid schizothymia depresses group cohesiveness and friendliness. Practical concernedness (i.e., practical, logical, conscientious) results in group productivity and job completion. Rather than report all the detail, let us note Haythorn's summary: "Personality traits involving maturity, adaptability, and acceptance of others tend to be positively related to smooth and effective group functioning." "Personality traits involving suspiciousness, eccentricity, and coolness toward others tend to be negatively related to smooth group functioning."⁸⁷

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

We have not considered the question of charisma, or the inspirational leader. Nor have we considered questions about leadership as it occurs in common conceptions rather than as manifest in social interaction. The fact that the empirical work reported here points to a small number of specializations in the interaction situation does not mean that the number of roles that are conceived and visualized are so small. For example, utilizing another definition of leadership, Redl outlines a number of types of leaders based on a Freudian framework,³⁸ and on a somewhat broader base of "functional roles" rather than leadership, Benne and Sheats³⁹ have presented an extensive typology under the categories of: (a) group task roles; (b) group building and maintenance roles; and (c) individual roles. Another illustration dealing directly with the isolation of leadership conceptions held by a particular group is found in the analysis of military leadership conceptions by Saunders.⁴⁰ Furthermore, we have not scrutinized the available materials on the "all-round leader" or "great man,"⁴¹ and we have not inquired into questions of the stability of leadership.⁴²

Cohesiveness, influence, and power. There are many additional topics important in the study of group phenomena, and we shall give brief attention to one of them, a general concern, developing largely from the work of Kurt Lewin, which is manifest in what has sometimes been called the democratic process. This, unfortunately, sometimes becomes the implicit expectation in much research that inevitably the democratic procedure will be the best for all purposes. The Lewin and Lippitt study,⁴³ which is a classic in this field, contrasted the effects of authoritarian and

³⁸ F. Redl, "Group Emotion and Leadership," *Psychiatry*, V (1942), 573-96.

³⁹ K. D. Benne and P. Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members," *Journal of Social Issues*, IV, No. 2 (1948), 41-49.

⁴⁰ D. R. Saunders, "Relationships among Some Concepts and Ratings of Military Leadership," *E.T.S. Research Bulletin* (Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J.), 1954 (RB-54-10).

⁴¹ E. F. Borgatta, R. F. Bales and A. S. Couch, "Some Findings Relevant to the Great Man Theory of Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 755-59.

⁴² Carter and Nixon, *op. cit.*; E. Katz et al., "Leadership Stability and Social Change: an Experiment with Small Groups," *Sociometry*, XX (1957), 36-50.

⁴³ K. Lewin and R. Lippitt, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Autoc-

democratic leadership in two children's groups. The democratic group was found to be less tense and more cooperative, more objective, more constructive; to possess more we-feeling, and to have greater stability of structure.

Lewin and his many students continued their interest in the democratic process, but this expanded and overflowed into problems concerning such related concepts as cohesiveness, cooperation, influence, and power. Some research, such as that of Preston and Heintz,⁴⁴ occurred as a direct extension of the democratic vs. the autocratic type of leadership structure arrangement in the group. In this case participatory leadership was compared to supervisory leadership. It was found that participatory leadership results in more group conformity than supervisory leadership and, further, that the shift in the participatory groups is more permanent and members and leaders find the participation both more interesting and enjoyable. In a similar study, Hare⁴⁵ found that boy leaders who received instruction in participatory leadership were more effective in increasing the amount of agreement in a group than boys who had been given supervisory leadership instruction. Furthermore, he found that the participatory leaders generally had more influence on the group and that subjects in the participatory groups were generally better satisfied with the result of the group decision. The work of Bovard⁴⁶ appears to parallel that of Preston and Heintz, and Hare. Bovard found that group-centered classes have higher affect rating and shift toward the norm of judgment more than do leader-centered classes. It should be noted in these studies that the concern is both with the creation of a structure and also with the establishment of a method of direction and communication.

racy and Democracy: a Preliminary Note," *Sociometry*, I (1938), 292-300; Lewin, Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (1939), 271-99.

⁴⁴ M. G. Preston and R. K. Heintz, "Effects of Participatory versus Supervisory Leadership on Group Judgment," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIV (1949), 345-55.

⁴⁵ A. P. Hare, "Small Group Discussions with Participatory and Supervisory Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVIII (1953), 273-75.

⁴⁶ E. W. Bovard, "The Experimental Production of Interpersonal Affect," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 521-28; Bovard, "Group Structure and Perception," *ibid.*, pp. 398-405.

Possibly a good example of the group dynamics approach is illustrated in the work of Deutsch.⁴⁷ The outline of Deutsch's experiment and findings is as follows: Ten experimental groups of five persons each were matched on the basis of discussion productivity into five groups which were motivated to compete as groups and five in which the members were motivated to compete against each other in the group. The former groups were thus internally cooperative. In the cooperative groups, persons tended to perceive themselves as more independent, to allow more substitution for similarly intended actions, to show more positive affect, less resistance, and more helpfulness among the group members. In the competitive groups there was less coordination of effort, less subdivision of activities and diversity of contributions among members, less pressure to achievement, less attentiveness to fellow members, less attention to communication, less orientation, less productivity, and lower quality of product and discussions. In addition, the competitive groups showed less friendliness, less favorable evaluation of themselves and their products. However, in the competitive groups there was more productivity in a human relations problem and more individual functions developed. In general, Deutsch concluded that greater group or organizational productivity results from the cooperative type organization. If these conclusions and those of the studies mentioned immediately above seem to weigh overwhelmingly in favor of democratic organization of groups, we should not be misled into thinking that contrary evidence does not exist. At this point there have been many points of dissension, both at a theoretical level and in research.

A study by Berkowitz⁴⁸ indicated that the group-centered or nondirective type of leadership may violate members' expectations and lead to dissatisfaction in decision-making groups. He reported, in fact, that there appears to develop an expectancy of role differentiation between a designated leader and the group

⁴⁷ M. Deutsch, "A Theory of Cooperation and Competition," *Human Relations*, II (1949), 129-52; Deutsch, "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Cooperation and Competition upon Group Process," *ibid.*, pp. 199-231.

⁴⁸ L. Berkowitz, "Sharing Leadership in Small, Decision-making Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVIII (1953), 231-38.

members, each performing particular functions. Sharing of leadership by members other than the designated leader appears to decrease the group cohesiveness and satisfaction with the meeting. These results persist when the permissiveness of leaders is varied and when the support of the leader by the persons sharing leadership with him is varied. However, in this study Berkowitz found that when problems are defined as urgent, there appears the tendency in the group to deemphasize the importance of hypothesized group tradition (i.e., imposed or defined structure) in the attempt to reach the adequate problem solution. The appropriate interpretation seems to be that in an urgent situation the differentiation of roles will gravitate to an effective structure in spite of misplacement of nominal authority, and with the structure aligned so that persons in leadership strongly possess the qualities required for execution of the task. Wispe,⁴⁹ in another context, indicated related objections to those of Berkowitz. In particular, he reported that students participating in permissive class sections tend to participate more and to find participation interesting and enjoyable, but they prefer directive classes for preparation for examination and assessment. In still another context Torrance⁵⁰ found that air crews who conducted critiques with structured leadership more frequently show improvement in subsequent problem-solving situations than those crews who conducted critiques in a less structured manner. Crews that conducted critiques in an unstructured, nonauthoritarian, and self-critique manner did not perform better than crews which had received no critique at all, according to the criterion of performance in subsequent problem-solving situations.

While we have not labored the question of democratic vs. authoritarian type organization in small group structure in this review, we have examined enough studies to suggest that the appropriate generalization is as follows: Democratic structure emphasizes the social and psychological satisfactions, and may also

⁴⁹ L. G. Wispe, "Evaluating Section Teaching Methods in the Introductory Course," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLV (1951), 161-86; Wispe, "Teaching Methods Research," *American Psychologist*, VIII (1953), 147-50.

⁵⁰ E. P. Torrance, "Methods of Conducting Critiques of Group Problem-solving Performance," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXVII (1953), 394-98.

be conducive to productivity in regard to some tasks. Defining a democratic situation may be the effective way of permitting role differentiation into a stable social structure, but the effectiveness of the structure which evolves may be dependent on delegation of authority to the appropriate person rather than maintenance of a sharing of authority. The research is by no means unambiguous in regard to the value of democratic organization for task completion, and there is an indication that delegated authority and recognition of arbitrary leadership may be instrumental in accomplishing certain kinds of tasks. Careful examination of the literature suggests that the so-called "group dynamics bias" is attributable to naïve interpretation by persons who have understandably been too willing to find confirmation of their well-intended inclinations in the published research reports.

Research related to Lewin's work has developed around the topics of cohesiveness, power, and influence as well. The word "cohesiveness" has been given quite a number of meanings in the literature, including: (a) the mutual attraction of members; (b) the morale of the group members; and (c) the tendency for the group to resist dissolution.⁵¹ Festinger, Schachter, and their associates have given intensive attention to problems of group cohesiveness and influence.⁵² The general orientation of research appears to be formulated around exploration of a theory that membership in the group in the sense of belongingness is required before the group can have a coercive influence upon the individual. Thus, the degree of mutual attraction is directly related

⁵¹ On the matter of definitions see, for example, N. Gross and W. E. Martin, "On Group Cohesiveness," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (1952), 546-54; S. Schachter, "Comment on 'On Group Cohesiveness,'" *ibid.*, pp. 554-62.

⁵² S. Schachter *et al.*, "An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity," *Human Relations*, IV (1951), 229-38; Schachter, "Deviation, Rejection, and Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 190-207; L. Festinger, "Informal Communication in Small Groups," in Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-43; Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations*, VII (1954), 117-40; Festinger *et al.*, "The Influence Process in the Presence of Extreme Deviates," *ibid.*, V (1952), 327-46; Festinger, Schachter, and K. W. Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: a Study of Human Factors in Housing* (New York: Harper, 1950); Back, "Influence through Social Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 9-23.

to the mutual influence which is exercised, and conformity to a standard should be associated with the cohesiveness of the group. This should be true whether the standard is in the direction of high or low output in regard to a criterion. While Festinger has provided much of the system, independent work like that of Berkowitz⁵³ tends to support the theory. The mechanism through which this operates is a comparison process, the consequences of the comparisons being dependent on the frame of reference and position of the person.

Research on group cohesiveness is also related to examination of the effects of the majority in the group. In general, results of these experiments indicate that conformity goes in the direction of the majority.⁵⁴ The Thorndike study⁵⁵ indicated that the tendency for conformity with majority opinion varied directly with the size of the majority, and Asch's experiment⁵⁶ indicated, further, that a person may be willing to oppose one or two others but will generally respond at a maximal level to pressure for conformity with groups of three or larger. Another side of the coin involves inquiry into the role of the deviate in the group rather than dealing with the majority. Festinger and Thibaut,⁵⁷ for example, examined the process of communication in regard to the deviate in the group and found that a disproportionate amount of communication was directed toward him.

Our excursion into "what social science says about groups" has been both abstract and specific. There has been an attempt to deal with general considerations of classification of groups and of theory in a systematic framework, and there has also been some systematic

⁵³ L. Berkowitz, "Group Standards, Cohesiveness, and Productivity," *Human Relations*, VII (1954), 509-19.

⁵⁴ J. F. Dashiell, "Experimental Studies of the Influence of Social Situations on the Behavior of Individual Human Adults," in C. Murchison, ed., *A Handbook of Social Psychology* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1935), pp. 1097-1158).

⁵⁵ R. L. Thorndike, "The Effect of Discussion upon the Correctness of Group Decisions, When the Factor of Majority Influence Is Allowed For," *Journal of Social Psychology*, IX (1938), 343-62.

⁵⁶ S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, eds., *Readings in Social Psychology* (2d ed.; New York: Holt, 1952), pp. 2-11.

⁵⁷ L. Festinger and J. Thibaut, "Interpersonal Communication in Small Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 92-99.

attention to such specific variables as group size, leadership, and cohesiveness and its related complex. While the coverage has been deliberately broad, it has certainly not encompassed all the major areas of research on group behavior. We have not touched upon the important research on interpersonal perception and empathy, for example, in which several exciting developments have taken place over the past ten years. Similarly, we have not given attention to the exploration of the controlled communication network experiments. Nor have we given attention to the increasing number of mathematical models which are being explored in regard to group phenomena. Further, we have not given attention to the exploration of research both in the laboratory and in terms of practical application as related to the inducement of change to group processes.

We have, in fact, merely skimmed some knowledge which social science has available today. A characteristic of this knowledge, as we noted, is that it is recent in development and that it is in process of being accumulated now. This suggests that we have an important task at hand of sifting and organizing this social science knowledge so it may be made available for practice.

This paper has probably been severely overweighted in its emphasis on research and research developments. This is in part a reflection of the fact that the intensification of interest in group behavior is accompanied by new research technology and orientation. However, this emphasis should not be mistaken for a disregard of those qualities which make research important, namely, the wisdom of the theorist who integrates the findings and that of the practitioner who must convert the findings into practical tools. The prospectus is of heightened interaction between research and practice, and the present status of the field is promising and should lead us to be optimistic in our expectations.

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Appendix A: Program

THE MAJOR FUNCTION of the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) is to provide a dynamic educational forum for the critical examination of basic welfare problems and issues.

Programs of the Annual Forums are divided into two parts: (1) the General Sessions and the meetings of the section and common services committees, all of which are arranged by the NCSW Program Committee; and (2) meetings which are arranged by the associate and special groups affiliated with the NCSW.

In addition to arranging these meetings, associate and special groups participate in the over-all planning of the Annual Forum programs.

In order that the NCSW may continue to provide a democratic forum in which all points of view are represented, it is prohibited by its Constitution from taking positions on social issues. Individuals appearing on Annual Forum programs speak for themselves and have no authority to use the name of the NCSW in any way which would imply that the organization has participated in or endorsed their statements or positions.

General Theme: Expanding Frontiers in Social Welfare

SUNDAY, MAY 19

2:00 P.M.—3:00 P.M.

Orientation Session for Newcomers

Gunnar Dybwad, Executive Director, National Association for Retarded Children, New York City

Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York City office

Floor discussion

5:30 P.M.

Opening General Session. Expanding Frontiers in Social Welfare

Presiding: Margaret Hickey, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Music by the Singing City Choir of Philadelphia, under the direction of Mrs. Elaine Brown

Welcome on behalf of the Philadelphia Sponsoring Committee by Mrs. William B. Walker, Chairman
 Welcome on behalf of the Pennsylvania State Sponsoring Committee by S. Dale Furst, Jr., Co-chairman
 Expanding Frontiers in Social Welfare
 Hon. George M. Leader, Governor of Pennsylvania

MONDAY, MAY 20

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

General Session. Perspectives in Social Welfare

Presiding: Melvin A. Glasser, Assistant to the President, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; chairman, U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work

Presidential Address

Margaret Hickey, Public Affairs Editor, *Ladies' Home Journal*; President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Services to Individuals and Families

Mrs. Katherine A. Kendall, Consultant on Educational Services, Council on Social Work Education, New York

Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

Nathan E. Cohen, Associate Dean, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; President, National Association of Social Workers

Services to Agencies and Communities

Robert H. MacRae, Executive Director, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

Social Work as a Force in Producing Cultural Change—Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lecture

Presiding: Werner W. Boehm, Director and Coordinator, Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education, New York; Chairman of Section I

Weston La Barre, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

Discussant: Florence Sytz, Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

New Knowledge about Group Behavior—Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lecture

Presiding: Ray Johns, General Executive, YMCA, Boston; Chairman of Section II

What Social Science Says about Groups

Edgar F. Borgatta, Associate Social Psychologist, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

The Challenge of Such New Knowledge in Work with Groups

David H. Jenkins, Director, Group Dynamics Center, Teachers College, Temple University, Philadelphia

The Challenge of Such New Knowledge to Social Group Work

Harleigh B. Trecker, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Connecticut, Hartford

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. HOW CAN STATE COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES ON THE AGING BE USED TO ORGANIZE BETTER SERVICES TO OLDER CITIZENS?

Presiding: Sidney Spector, Director, Interstate Clearing House on Mental Health, Council of State Governments, Chicago

Clark Tibbitts, chairman, Committee on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Harold Mager, Executive Secretary, New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Problems of the Aging, Albany

Mrs. Gordon F. Mulvey, chairman, Rhode Island Committee on Aging, Providence

GROUP MEETING 2. COOPERATIVE PLANNING OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES IN AND FOR THE COMMUNITY

Presiding: Robert Fenley, Director of Personnel, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York City

John A. Pennock, Director, San Diego County Coordinating Councils, Calif.

Kenyon Scudder, Director, Osborne Association, Balboa Island, Calif.

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE JOINT COMMISSION ON MENTAL ILLNESS AND HEALTH AND HOW THESE FINDINGS CAN BE USED BY AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

Presiding: Max Silverstein, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Mental Health, Inc., Philadelphia

Filmore H. Sanford, Executive Secretary, American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Luther E. Woodward, Senior Mental Health Representative, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany

GROUP MEETING 4. TIME FOR COMMUNITIES TO STOP SHADOWBOXING IN OUR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY FIGHT

Presiding: Will C. Turnbladh, Director, National Probation and Parole Association, New York

Harrison A. Dobbs, School of Social Welfare, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

Discussants: Philip G. Green, Director, Division of Juvenile Delinquency Services, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; Heman G. Stark, Director, California Youth Authority, Sacramento

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Interpretation Films

Presiding: Rob Roy, Director, Public Relations, United Fund of Philadelphia

"The Story of Legal Aid." National Legal Aid Association, American Bar Center, 1155 East 60th St., Chicago 37

Introduced by: Junius L. Allison, Field Director, National Legal Aid Association, Chicago

"From 'Foreigner' to Citizen." International Institute, 4484 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8

Introduced by: Stuart Moore, Educational Director, International Institute of St. Louis

"Runaway." Community Chest of Los Angeles, 729 South Figueroa St., Los Angeles 17

Introduced by: Mrs. Frances A. Koestler, Director of Public Relations, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

Floor Discussion

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Services for the Aging

Presiding: Elsa Volckmann, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York; chairman, Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

"The Proud Years." Center for Mass Communication, 1125 Amsterdam Ave., New York 25

2:00 P.M.-3:30 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1 (CO-SPONSORING GROUP: SECTION III). NEW APPROACHES IN CHILD WELFARE

Presiding: Elizabeth G. Meier, Associate Professor, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

New Techniques and Methods in Child Welfare

Mildred Arnold, Director, Division of Social Service, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

New Ways of Looking at Community Organization for Child Welfare

Fred DelliQuadri, Director, Division for Children and Youth, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Madison

Community Planning for Improved Group Care for Children

Mrs. Frances Goodall, Executive Secretary, Family, Old Age, and Children's Division, Social Planning Council, St. Louis

GROUP MEETING 2 (CO-SPONSORING GROUP: SECTION II). THE USE OF GROUP WORK CONCEPTS AND TECHNIQUES IN INTERVIEWING SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY JOINTLY

Presiding: John C. Kidneigh, Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Grace Weyker, Chief Social Worker, Amherst Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul; John Crane, Caseworker, Family Service, St. Paul

Discussant: Mrs. Gisela Konopka, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

GROUP MEETING 3. THE IMPACT OF THE WIDESPREAD USE OF NEW DRUGS UPON THE SOCIAL TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION OF MENTAL PATIENTS

Presiding: Max Silverstein, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Mental Health, Philadelphia

Social Factors Arising in a New Era of Psychiatry

Else B. Kris, M.D., Principal Research Scientist (social psychiatry), New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany

An Evaluation of the Social Adjustment of Patients under Active Treatment with Tranquilizing Drugs

Irene L. Hitchman, M.D., Clinical Director, Springfield State Hospital, Md.

Discussant: Else Jockel, Director, Psychiatric Social Work, Springfield State Hospital, Md.

GROUP MEETING 4. NEW PATTERNS IN CARE OF EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN

Presiding: Luther E. Woodward, Senior Mental Health Representative, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany

Donald A. Bloch, M.D., Director, Residential Treatment Project sponsored by New York State Interdepartmental Health Resources Board; Director of Research, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York

Discussant: Esther Glickman, Chief Psychiatric Social Worker,
Child Guidance Clinic of Southeastern Connecticut, New London
Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. ROLE OF SERVICE IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Presiding: Walter P. Townsend, Associate Director, Pennsylvania
Citizens Association, Philadelphia

Marguerite Galloway, Supervisor, Field Service, Bureau of Assistance,
New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies,
Trenton

Discussants: Mary M. Zender, Associate Professor of Social Economy,
School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.;
Mrs. Edna K. Stokes, Executive Director, Delaware County Board
of Assistance, Chester, Pa.

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 6. CASEWORK IN THE PENAL INSTITUTION

Presiding: John K. Donohue, Chief Probation Officer, Probation
Department of Ramsey County, St. Paul

William G. Nagel, Assistant Superintendent, New Jersey Reformatory,
Bordentown

Discussant: Ernest Goldsborough, Case Supervisor, Pennsylvania
Prison Society, Philadelphia

GROUP MEETING 7. CASE RECORDING AND SUPERVISION—THEIR RELATIONSHIP

Presiding: Jeanette Hanford, Director, Family Service Bureau,
United Charities, Chicago

Wilda Dailey, District Secretary, Woodlawn-South Shore District
Office, Family Service Bureau, United Charities, Chicago

Virginia Hogan, School Social Worker, Thornton Township High
School, Ill.

**GROUP MEETING 8. TECHNIQUES IN OVERCOMING RESISTANCE IN GIVING
SERVICE TO HARD-TO-REACH FAMILIES COMING FROM EITHER SOCIALLY
DEPRIVED OR ECONOMICALLY PRIVILEGED SOCIAL GROUPS**

Presiding: Virginia Howlett, Consultant, Family Division, Health
and Welfare Council, Philadelphia

Techniques in Working with Deprived Families Who Do Not Ask for
Service

Alice Overton, Director, Family-centered Project, Greater St. Paul
Community Chest and Council

Techniques in Working with Families of Upper Social and Economic
Levels

Eleanor P. Sheldon, Executive Director, Family and Children's
Services, Stamford, Conn.

Floor discussion

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. RECENT AND EMERGING PATTERNS IN GROUP WORK PRACTICE

Presiding: Virginia Burns, Assistant Supervisor, Department of Neighborhood Clubs, Boston Children's Service Association

Relationships Used in Helping the Handicapped Child to Adjust to His Peer Group

Ralph Kolodny, Research Worker, Department of Neighborhood Clubs, Boston Children's Service Association

Importance of Relationships in Working with a Group of Delinquent Boys

Kenneth Watson, caseworker, Church Home Society, Boston
Use of Relationships in Bringing about Changes in Intergroup Attitudes

Michael Coffey, extension worker, Norfolk House Centre, Roxbury, Mass.

GROUP MEETING 2. RECENT AND EMERGING PATTERNS IN GROUP WORK PROGRAM

Panel chairman: Franz X. Kamps, Associate Director, St. Paul Neighborhood House, St. Paul

Mrs. Frances Guzie, social group worker, Psychiatric Section, University of Minnesota Hospital, Minneapolis

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. RECENT PATTERNS OF GROUP WORK PRACTICE IN USE OF AGENCY FUNCTION, STRUCTURES, AND SETTING

Presiding: Robert L. Bond, head worker, Goodrich House, Cleveland

When Jointly Operated Units Are Established—How They Are Organized

Mildred Esgar, Executive Director, Cleveland YWCA

Day-to-Day Problems and Values in Joint Operations

John C. O'Melia, Associate Executive, Ohio-West Virginia Council of YMCA's, Columbus

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. RECENT PATTERNS IN USE OF GROUP FORMATION, STRUCTURE, AND COMPOSITION

Presiding: Marjorie Montelius, Executive Director, International Institute, San Francisco; Lecturer, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Adaptations Necessary in Group Work with Recently Arrived Japanese Brides

Jean Bolton, Group Work Supervisor, International Institute of San Francisco

Adaptations Necessary in Short-Term Group Work with Hospitalized Children

Carol Young, social group worker, Pediatrics Ward, University of California Hospital, San Francisco

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. RECENT AND EMERGING PATTERNS IN GROUP LEADERSHIP

Panel chairman: Wilma Balzer, Assistant Director of Group Work and Recreation, New York City Youth Board

Panel members: Lillian Lampkin, Director of Group Work and Recreation, New York City Youth Board; Bernice Goodman, Group Work Supervisor, Bureau of Community Education, Board of Education, New York; Murray Ortof, Executive Director, Camp Hurley

GROUP MEETING 6. NEW EXPERIENCES IN CAMPING WITH THE HANDICAPPED

Presiding: Brigadier Paul S. Kaiser, National Liaison, Camping and Youth Services, Salvation Army, New York

Moderator: Mrs. Richard Beckhard, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., New York; chairman, Committee on Camping, National Social Welfare Assembly

Irving Miller, Lecturer in Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

Panel members: Maurice Case, Recreation Director, New York Association for the Blind, New York; Louise Frey, Supervisor of Demonstration Project on Group Work with the Handicapped, Community Council of Greater New York; Mrs. Eveline E. Jacobs, Program Analyst, National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Chicago; Florence I. Mosher, Assistant to Director of Community Program, New York Heart Association, New York; Elaine Switzer, Associate Executive Secretary, Division of Recreation and Informal Education, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 7. GROUP WORK WITH OLDER PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS

Presiding: William C. Fitch, Director, Special Staff on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; member, Executive Committee of the National Committee on Aging, National Social Welfare Assembly

Programs for Older People in Rural Counties

Theresa Brungardt, Vermont State Director of Recreation, Montpelier

A Center for Older People in a Small City

Ann F. Power, medical social worker, Department of Public Welfare, Newburgh, N.Y.

"Drop-in Centers" for Retired Workers in an Industrial City

Olga M. Madar, Director, Recreation Department, United Automobile Workers, Detroit

Group Work in Homes for the Aged

Nelida Ferrari, Project Director, in charge of developing group work programs in four philanthropic homes for the aged under the auspices of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland

GROUP MEETING 8 (JOINT SESSION WITH SECTION I—GROUP MEETING 2).
THE USE OF GROUP WORK CONCEPTS AND TECHNIQUES IN INTERVIEWING
SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY JOINTLY

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. THE PLACE OF PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES IN THE TOTAL
COMMUNITY PLANNING

Presiding: John W. Tramburg, Commissioner, New Jersey State
Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton

Ellen Winston, Commissioner, North Carolina State Board of
Public Welfare, Raleigh

Frederick Breyer, Director, Hamilton County Department of Wel-
fare, Cincinnati

Mary C. Raymond, Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies,
New Orleans

GROUP MEETING 2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODS USED FOR HELPING AGENCIES
TO TRAIN STAFF IN MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

Presiding: Dorothea L. Dolan, Consultant in Psychiatric Social
Work, Region V, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Chicago

Elizabeth McDonald, Chief Consultant, Bureau of Mental Health
Community Services, Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare,
Harrisburg

Jesse H. Bankston, Director, Louisiana State Department of
Hospitals, Baton Rouge

Leon H. White, Assistant Deputy Director of Mental Health,
Illinois Department of Public Welfare, Springfield

GROUP MEETING 3 (JOINT SESSION WITH SECTION I—GROUP MEETING 1).
NEW APPROACHES IN CHILD WELFARE

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Interpretation of Social Work

Presiding: Lawrence Merl, Visiting Counselor, Board of Educa-
tion, Evanston, Ill.

"School Social Worker." University of Southern California, Audio-
Visual Services, University Park, Los Angeles 7

Floor discussion

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare

GROUP MEETING 1. COMMON ELEMENTS IN PLANNING PRODUCTIVE MEETINGS

Presiding: Milton Wittman, Training Specialist, National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md.; vice chairman, Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare.

David H. Jenkins, Director, Group Dynamics Center, Teachers College, Temple University, Philadelphia

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. TECHNIQUES FOR ACHIEVING PURPOSE OF MEETINGS

Presiding: Frank Rooney, Executive Secretary, Family and Child Welfare Section, United Community Services, Washington, D.C.; chairman, Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare

Discussion leader: Charles H. Clark, Public Relations Assistant, Ethyl Corporation, New York

Floor discussion

Committee on Public Relations

Common Concerns—the Key to Communication

Presiding: Rob Roy, Director of Public Relations, United Fund of Philadelphia

Edgar Dale, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus

Floor discussion

Committee on Social Research and Social Studies

By Industrial Standards, Are Social Workers Underpaid?

Presiding: Joseph P. Flemming, General Supervisor, Personnel Service, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.; Chairman, Personnel Practices Committee, Casework Council, Cleveland Welfare Federation

Background of Project and Its Findings

Elwood V. Denton, Assistant Cashier, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland; chairman, Advisory Committee to the Job Evaluation Project of the Casework Council, Cleveland Welfare Federation

Methodology of Job Evaluation Project

John Patterson Currie, management consultant, New York

Significance and Usefulness of the Study from the Standpoint of a Cooperating Agency

Arthur H. Kruse, General Secretary, Family Service Association of Cleveland; George Guthery, Assistant Treasurer and Secretary,

Oglebay, Norton and Company, Cleveland; board member, Family Service Association of Cleveland

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Migration and Refugees

Presiding: Elizabeth A. Campbell, Executive Director, International Institute of Philadelphia

"Out!" United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York

Introduced by: John Debrates, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, New York

"Bridge of Hope." Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 11 West 42d St., New York 36

"Journey for Nico." Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 11 West 42d St., New York 36

Introduced by: Edward B. Marks, Deputy in charge of New York Office, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

"Wherever the Migrant." United HIAS Service, 425 Lafayette St., New York 3

Introduced by: Martin A. Bursten, Director of Public Relations, United HIAS Service, New York

"Citizen Varek." National Film Board of Canada, 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20

Floor discussion

7:00 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Presiding: Eve N. Kneznek, Training Consultant, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany

"Helen Keller in Her Story." Louis de Rochemont Associates Film Library, 13 East 57th St., New York 16

"Miracle in Java." United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Expanding Frontiers in Public Welfare

Presiding: Joseph E. Baldwin, Director, Milwaukee Department of Public Welfare; First Vice President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Invocation by Rt. Rev. J. Gillespie Armstrong, Suffragan Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania

Recognition of 50-year members of the National Conference on Social Welfare

The New Federal Social Security Legislation and the American Economy

Wilbur J. Cohen, Professor of Public Administration, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Potentialities for State and Local Public Welfare

Loula Dunn, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

Implications for Voluntary Agencies

Arthur H. Kruse, General Secretary, Family Service Association of Cleveland

Questions from the audience and from the questioning panel:

Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander, Philadelphia; Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director, Department of Social Security, AFL-CIO; Second Vice President, National Conference on Social Welfare; Mrs. Ruth Geri Hagy, Forum Director, *Evening and Sunday Bulletin*, Philadelphia

TUESDAY, MAY 21

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Services Required by People Moving Internationally

Presiding: William S. Bernard, Executive Director, American Federation of International Institutes, New York

William T. Kirk, General Director, International Social Service (American Branch), New York

Ernest C. Grigg, Chief, United Nations Regional Social Affairs Office, Beirut, Lebanon; recently special United Nations consultant on refugee matters, Vienna

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Administrative Use of Cost Data

Presiding: Louis L. Bennett, Executive Director, Jewish Child Care Association of New York

Cost Analysis in the Family Field

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Director, Family Service of Philadelphia

Cost Analysis in Child Placement Agencies

Lois Wildy, Executive Director, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Social Action and Social Welfare: Social Work's Stake in Public Policy

Presiding: Elizabeth Wickenden, Consultant on Public Social Policy, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

What Social Welfare Asks of Public Policy Makers

Wilbur J. Cohen, Professor of Public Administration, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

What Public Policy Makers Need from Social Welfare

Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, former member of Congress from California

Discussant: Sanford Solender, Director, Jewish Community Center Division, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York; chairman, Commission on Social Policy and Action, National Association of Social Workers

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Family Life Education—How to Bring to Families Sound Principles of Family Living through Broad Community Channels.

Presiding: Edward Linzer, Director of Education Services, National Association for Mental Health, New York

Panel members: Dorothy Barclay, editor, "Parent and Child," New York Times; Rose Franzblau, M.D., columnist, New York Post; Pauline Wilson Knapp, Director, Merrill Palmer School, Detroit

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Retirement Policy in Social Agencies

Presiding: Ralph H. Blanchard, Executive Director, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York; President, National Health and Welfare Retirement Association

What Is a Sound Retirement Policy for Social Agencies?

Thomas H. Paine, Partner, Edwin Shields Hewitt and Associates, Libertyville, Ill.

Panel members: Ralph H. Blanchard; Thomas H. Paine; Robert M. Ball, Deputy Director, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Baltimore; Paul E. Mais, Administrative Vice President, National Health and Welfare Retirement Association, New York; Orpha C. Haymond, Executive Secretary, YWCA Retirement Fund and Saving and Security Plan, New York

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Social Work Tackles Urban Renewal

Presiding: Clyde Murray, Executive Director, Manhattanville Community Center, New York

Urban Renewal Demands New Skills from Social Work

James E. Lash, Executive Vice President, ACTION, New York

Partnership in Community Planning

David H. Keppel, Director, Department of Public Welfare, Hartford, Conn.

Sydney B. Markey, Director, Philadelphia County District, Health and Welfare Council

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Audio-Visual Digest

Presiding: Marguerite V. Pohek, Educational Director, Pocket Films, New York

Audio-Visual Techniques and Materials in the Field of Social Welfare
Marguerite V. Pohek

Teaching Psychological and Social Development

Gertrude Goller, Associate Director, Department of Parent Group Education, Child Study Association of America, New York

The Regional Staff Development Plan

Anne Wilkens, School of Social Work, University of Texas, Austin

Enhancing Supervisory Skills

John S. Black, Supervisor of In-Service Training and Staff Development, Division of Child Welfare, Cuyohoga County Welfare Department, Cleveland

Recruiting and Training Volunteers

Agnes Jones, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., New York

Community Cooperation for Neighborhood Renewal

Dan Carpenter, Director, Hudson Guild, New York

Interpreting the Family Service Program—from the Standpoint of the National Voluntary Agency

James Scull, Family Service Association of America, New York

Parent Education

Mrs. Mildred Rabinow, United Parents Association, New York

Recruiting and Helping Foster Parents

James Dumpson, Director, Division of Child Welfare, New York City Department of Welfare

Sources of Information concerning Audio-Visual Materials and Their Uses

Rohama Lee, editor, *Film News*, New York

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Trends in International Social Welfare

Presiding: George W. Rabinoff, Assistant Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; Executive Secretary, U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work

Charles I. Schottland, Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: A. M. Shawky, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; formerly United Nations Consultant on Community Development to Government of Pakistan;

Dorothy Moses, Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations, New York

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Administrative Use of Cost Data

Presiding: Louis L. Bennett, Executive Director, Jewish Child Care Association of New York

Discussion leader: John Gordon Hill, Director, Research Center, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

Discussants: Berthold W. Levy, Vice President, Jewish Family Service of Philadelphia; Linn Brandenburg, Associate Executive Director, Community Fund of Chicago

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Social Action and Social Welfare: Three Success Stories

Presiding: Elizabeth Wickenden, Consultant on Public Social Policy, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

A Settlement Helps Its Neighborhood to Develop a Successful Urban Renewal Program

Walter Smart, Germantown Settlement, Germantown, Pa.

A Social Worker's Chapter Helps Achieve a Community Mental Health Program

Arnold Gurin, Director of Field Services, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York; chairman, Public Social Policy Committee, Long Island Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers

A Local Urban League Helps Get Civil Rights Written into a New City Charter

George H. Robinson, Executive Secretary, Omaha Urban League
Discussant: Edward Parsons, Executive Secretary, Missouri Association for Social Welfare, Jefferson City

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Family Life Education—How to Bring to Families Sound Principles of Living through Meetings and Groups

Panel chairman: Donald W. Moreland, Executive Director, Family Service Association of Greater Boston

Panel members: Helen Southard, Consultant on Family Relations, YWCA of the U.S.A., New York; Gertrude Goller, Associate Director, Department of Parent Group Education, Child Study Association of America, New York

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Retirement Policy in Social Agencies

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Residence Requirements: More Doing—Less Talking

Panel chairman: Laurin Hyde, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

How Labor Can Help

Julius Rothman, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, New York

The Concern of Business and Industry with Residence Requirements

Louis J. Cohen, attorney, Director and Counsel for Mohawk Savings and Loan Association and Paramount Mutual Life Insurance Co., Newark, N.J.

How to Approach Our Elected Representatives on Residence Laws

Richard Bachman, Executive Secretary, Ohio Citizens Council, Columbus

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Audio-Visual Digest

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Presiding: Leah Parker, Director, Training Division, Personnel Department, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., New York.

"The Wider World." World Association of Girl Scouts and Girl Guides, % Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 155 East 44th St., New York 17

2:00 P.M.-3:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Human Relations

Presiding: Robert Disraeli, Director, Film Division, American Jewish Committee, New York

"The Way of the Navaho." Young America Films, 18 East 41st St., New York 17

"A City Decides." The Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42d St., New York 17

Floor discussion

4:00 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Extending Social Work Knowledge

Presiding: Kathryn Linden, Film Service, American Nurses Association and the National League for Nursing, New York

"To Your Health." Center for Mass Communication, 1125 Amsterdam Ave., New York 25

"Out of Darkness." Available through state and local mental health associations

Introduced by: Edward Linzer, Director of Education Services,
National Association for Mental Health, New York
"Problems of the Mind in Later Years." William S. Merrell Company,
Lockland Station, Cincinnati 15

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22

9:00 P.M.—10:45 A.M.

General Session. *The Changing American Family—Its Challenge for Social Welfare*

Presiding: Charles I. Schottland, Commissioner of Social Security,
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
Reuben Hill, Research Professor in Family Life, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Discussants: Rev. John L. Thomas, St. Louis University; Martin B. Loeb, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. FAMILY DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

Presiding: Ralph Ormsby, Executive Director, Family Service of
of Philadelphia

Points of Reference for the Analysis of Family Processes

Maurice R. Friend, M.D., Marion E. Kenworthy Professor of
Psychiatry, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University,
New York

How Are Family Diagnosis and Treatment Taught in a School of Social Work?

Werner Lutz, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

How Are Family Diagnosis and Treatment Practiced by Social Casework?

Mrs. Martha Grossman, Assistant Executive Director, Family Service of Philadelphia

GROUP MEETING 2. THE NATURE OF THE HELPING RELATIONSHIP IN SOCIAL CASEWORK

Presiding: Manuel Kaufman, Deputy Commissioner, Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare

Lydia G. Nolan, Lecturer and Field Work Consultant, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Discussant: Carol H. Meyer, Assistant Professor of Social Work,

School of Public Administration and Social Service, New York University, New York

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. THE VOLUNTEER'S ROLE IN RENDERING SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS

Presiding: Mrs. Robert L. Foote, Past President, Association of Junior Leagues of America, Glencoe, Ill.

Marjorie A. Collins, Director, Central Volunteer Bureau, Community Council of Greater New York

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. A COMMON-SENSE APPROACH TO FEES

Presiding: Ruth Fizdale, Executive Director, Arthur Lehman Counseling Service, New York

Blanche Bernstein, Director of Research, Community Council of Greater New York

Discussants: Mrs. Gertrude T. Leyendecker, Case Supervisor, East River District, Community Service Society of New York; Evelyn Hyman, Co-Director, Adult Counselors and Home Finders, New York

GROUP MEETING 5. TEAMWORK—PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

Presiding: Chauncey A. Alexander, Executive Director, Los Angeles County Heart Association

Frederick A. Whitehouse, Director of Rehabilitation, American Heart Association, New York

Discussant: Eleanor E. Cockerill, Professor of Social Casework, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 6. STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Panel chairman: Norman V. Lourie, Executive Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Harrisburg—administrator

Panel members: Edmund G. Burbank, Chief Probation Officer, Quarter Sessions Court of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh—training supervisor; Miss Lourdes Lane, caseworker, Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School, Hawthorne, N.Y.—practitioner

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 7. THE MAN IN THE ADG FAMILY—THE ROLE OF THE FATHER

Panel chairman: Alfred F. Angster, Executive Director, Lutheran Social Service, Augustana Illinois Conference, Chicago

Panel members: Catherine Heerey, Case Supervisor, Social Service Department, Municipal Court of Chicago; Mrs. Mae Wethers, Supervisor, Southern District Office, Public Assistance Division,

Cook County Department of Welfare, Chicago; Reno Lenz, Family Service Consultant, Illinois Public Aid Commission, Campaign; Harold Hagen, Staff Representative, Committee on Services to Children, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 8 (CO-SPONSORING GROUP: SECTION III). ADAPTING SERVICES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TO THE AGED

Presiding: Sylvan S. Furman, Assistant Director, New York City Community Mental Health Board

Adapting Methods and Skills in the Family Service Agency

William Posner, Assistant Director, Jewish Community Services of Long Island, Jamaica, N.Y.

Community Organization and Planning for Better Services to the Aged
Jerome Kaplan, Special Assistant on Aging to the Governor of Minnesota, St. Paul

Discussant: Ollie H. Randall, Consultant, Study Project on Services for the Aging, Community Services Society, New York

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. WORK WITH GROUPS IN A METROPOLITAN "INNER-CITY" PROBLEM AREA

Presiding: Hollis Vick, Community Planning Division, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York

The Roxbury Community and Its Culture

Walter B. Miller, Director of Research, Roxbury Youth Project, Roxbury, Mass.

Working with Groups and Individuals in Groups in the Roxbury Area—Techniques, Methods, and Skills

David M. Austin, Executive Secretary, Group Work Council, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. WORK WITH GROUPS IN RAPIDLY GROWING SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES

Presiding: Richard Lodge, Associate in Social Group Work, School of Social Work, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Jack Stumpf, Consultant, Education-Recreation Division, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia, Montgomery and Delaware counties

Panel members: Murry Shapiro, Executive Director, Hartford Jewish Community Center; Harvey E. Gabler, Director, Suburban Centers, Neighborhood Centers Association of Houston and Harris County; Dorothy J. Royce, Executive Director, Girl Scouts of Delaware County, Pennsylvania

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN WORK WITH GROUPS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Presiding: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, Washington, D.C.

The Changing Rural Setting

Howard A. Dawson, Director, Rural Service, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

New Developments in Government-sponsored Group Work

E. W. Aiton, National Leader, 4-H Club and YMW Programs, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

New Developments in Voluntary Agency Group Work Programs

Elmaar H. Bakken, National Director, Rural Scouting, Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, N.J.

Floor discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. HOW AND IN WHAT DIRECTION SHOULD PUBLIC ASSISTANCE EXTEND ITS SERVICES?

Panel chairman: William P. Sailer, Executive Director, Philadelphia County Board of Assistance

Panel members: Mrs. Mildred B. Smith, Chief, Division of Program Planning, Illinois Public Aid Commission, Chicago; Esther Lazarus, Director, Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. HOW CAN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES DETERMINE PRIORITIES FOR NEEDED PROJECTS FOR COMMUNITY GROWTH AND WHAT AGENCY OR AGENCIES CAN BEST ASSIST THE COMMUNITY IN THIS DETERMINATION?

Presiding: John A. Pennock, Director, San Diego County Coordinating Councils, California

1. In an Expanding Large Metropolitan Area

Paul Gruendyke, Director of Community Services, Los Angeles

Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, Director of Borough Planning and Community Coordination Department, New York City Youth Board

2. In a Medium-sized Community

A. Rowland Todd, Executive Secretary, Community Welfare Council, Rockford, Ill.

3. In a Small Community

Charles W. Fleming, Executive Director, Pee Dee Area, Big Brother Association, Florence, S.C.

GROUP MEETING 3. SERVICES TO AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES CURRENTLY CONCERNED WITH SERVICES TO HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

Presiding: Antonio A. Sorieri, Deputy Commissioner, Division of Welfare and Medical Care, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany

The National Agency's Services to Localities

Rt. Rev. Edward E. Swanstrom, chairman, Migration and Refugee Committee, Catholic Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York

The Local Community Organizes Its Resources

Elizabeth A. Campbell, Executive Secretary, International Institute of Philadelphia

GROUP MEETING 4. SOCIAL AGENCIES WILL WISH TO KNOW HOW THEY CAN COOPERATE TO MINIMIZE THE DISRUPTION OF NORMAL FAMILY RESIDENCY

Panel chairman: Hon. Theodore O. Spaulding, Judge, Municipal Court of Philadelphia

Panel members: R. L. Steiner, Acting Urban Renewal Commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Catherine B. Moore, caseworker, Child and Family Services, Portland, Maine

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 5 (JOINT SESSION WITH SECTION I—GROUP MEETING 8). ADAPTING SERVICES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TO THE AGED

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Rehabilitation

Presiding: Henk Nieuwenhuize, Deputy Secretary General, International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, New York

"Teamwork in Action." International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, 701 First Ave., New York 17

"The Longer Trail." National Film Board of Canada, 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20

Floor discussion

1:00 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Services for Special Groups

Presiding: Elsa Volckmann, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York; chairman, Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

"Where the Green Grass Grows." Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America, 1790 Broadway, New York 19

Introduced by: Joseph S. Barbaro, Administrative Assistant,

Scientific Department, Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America, New York

"Edge of Silence." Ideal Pictures, 233 West 42d St., New York 36

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare

GROUP MEETING 1. COMMON ELEMENTS IN PLANNING PRODUCTIVE MEETINGS

Presiding: Milton Wittman, Training Specialist, National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md.; Vice Chairman, Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare

David Jenkins, Director, Group Dynamics Center, Teachers College, Temple University, Philadelphia

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. TECHNIQUES FOR ACHIEVING PURPOSE OF MEETINGS

Presiding: Frank Rooney, Executive Secretary, Family and Child Welfare Section, United Community Services, Washington, D.C.; chairman Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare

Discussion leader: Charles H. Clark, Ethyl Corporation, New York

Floor discussion

Committee on Public Relations

Are Your Public Relations In-Laws?

Presiding: Director of News and Special Events, WFIL, Philadelphia

Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Consultant, New York

Discussants: Joseph H. Reid, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York; Ray Hilliard, Director, Cook County Department of Welfare, Chicago

Floor discussion

Committee on Social Research and Social Studies

Social Work and the Social Sciences—Links and Gaps

Presiding: David G. French, Executive Secretary, Coordinating Committee on Social Welfare Research, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Identifying the Potentially Chronic Case at Intake

Isaac Hoffman, Director of Research Department, Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, St. Paul

Developing Interdisciplinary Collaboration in Mental Illness Research

Dorothy M. Mathews, Research Associate in Public Health Practice (psychiatric social work), Harvard School of Public Health, Boston

Katharine Spencer, Research Associate in Public Health Practice (anthropologist), Harvard School of Public Health, Boston

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Institutions for Emotionally Disturbed Children

Presiding: Helen R. Hagan, Assistant Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York

"To Be Again." Available from state health departments

"Boy in the Doorway." Bellefaire, 22001 Fairmount Blvd., Cleveland 18

Introduced by: Dorothy Lundvall, Jewish Children's Bureau of Cleveland

Floor discussion

4:00 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

Annual Meeting of Members

Issues Confronting the Conference

Presiding: Margaret Hickey, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Organizational Issues Facing the National Conference on Social Welfare

Maurice O. Hunt, member of NCSW Executive Committee

How Can the Annual Forum Best Meet the Basic Problems and Issues in the Social Welfare Field?

Panel chairman: Leonard W. Mayo, past President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Panel members: Margaret Twyman, Administrator, Association of Junior Leagues of America, New York; Joseph H. Reid, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York

Floor discussion

7:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Presiding: Martha Winn, Associate Director, Radio-Television-Films, United Community Funds and Councils, New York

"Dino." James Lavenstein, CBS Television, 485 Madison Ave., New York 22

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Desegregation and Integration

Presiding: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean, George Warren School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis; immediate past President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University, New York

THURSDAY, MAY 23

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Desegregation and Integration
 Presiding: Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, Assistant Director, Department
 of Christian Social Relations, National Council, Protestant Epis-
 copal Church, New York

*Building Community Understanding of Racial Problems—a Role of
 the Social Agency*

Nelson C. Jackson, Associate Director, National Urban League,
 New York

Floor discussion and evaluation

Evaluator: Mrs. Inabel B. Lindsay, Dean, School of Social Work,
 Howard University, Washington, D.C.

*Combined Associate Group Meeting. Rehabilitation in Social Welfare
 Today—New Concepts and Trends*

Presiding: Alexander F. Handel, Consultant in Community Plan-
 ning, American Foundation for the Blind, New York

Leonard W. Mayo, Director, Association for the Aid of Crippled
 Children, New York

Discussant: Eugene J. Taylor, Assistant Professor, Department of
 Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University—
 Bellevue Medical Center, New York

Floor discussion

*Combined Associate Group Meeting. Social Service for the Suburbs—
 the Tale of Two Cities*

Presiding: Richard F. Huegli, Director, Area Operations, United
 Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit

Ruth Pease, Secretary, Group Work Division, Community Chest
 and Council of Syracuse and Onondaga County, N.Y.

Isadore Seeman, Executive Director, United Community Services
 of Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Harriet L. Parsons, Field Consultant, North Atlantic
 Region, Family Service Association of America, New York; Mil-
 dred L. Savacool, Assistant in General Administration, YWCA of
 the U.S.A., New York; Donald Van Valen, Director, Office of
 Program and Community Planning, Pennsylvania State Depart-
 ment of Welfare, Harrisburg

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Philosophy and Practice in Adoption

Presiding: Leontine R. Young, Professor of Social Casework,

School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus;
author of *Out of Wedlock*

Panel members: Helen Fradkin, Consultant, Child Welfare League
of America, New York; Elizabeth S. Townsend, Executive Di-
rector, Children's Bureau of Delaware, Wilmington

"A Baby Named X." Child Welfare League of America, 345 East 46th
St., New York 17

"Your Very Own." Audio-Visual Services, University of Southern
California, University Park, Los Angeles 7

Floor discussion

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Desegregation and Integration

Presiding: Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, Assistant Director, Department of
Christian Social Relations, National Council, Protestant Episcopal
Church, New York

A Social Caseworker—the Application of Casework Skills

Esther M. Taylor, General Secretary, Family Service Organization,
Louisville, Ky.

A Group Worker in a Community Center in a Changing Neighbor-
hood

Mary Jane Eaton, Program Director, Trumbull Park Branch,
South Chicago Community Center.

A Community Organization Worker—the Contribution of a Commu-
nity Welfare Council

Benjamin B. Rosenberg, Executive Director, Greater Miami Jew-
ish Federation

A Worker in a Housing Agency—Problems and Practices in Integrated
Housing

Dorothy S. Montgomery, Managing Director, Philadelphia Hous-
ing Association

Floor discussion

*Combined Associate Group Meeting. Rehabilitation in Social Welfare
Today—the Place of Sheltered Employment in a Comprehensive Pro-
gram of Community Social Welfare Service*

Presiding: Saul Leshner, chairman, Sheltered Employment and
Placement Committee, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia
Bertram J. Black, Associate Director, Altro Health and Rehabilita-
tion Services, New York

M. Roberta Townsend, Director of the Pilot Study of Industrial
Homework in the State of Vermont

Gordon W. Allen, Consultant on Health Planning, United Com-
munity Funds and Councils of America, New York

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Local Community Planning and National Agencies' Services

Presiding: Mrs. Viola Hymes, Minneapolis; First Vice President, National Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. Victor Shaw, Fairmont, W. Va.; chairman, Committee on National-Local Social Welfare Planning of the National Social Welfare Assembly and United Community Funds and Councils of America

Discussants: Representative of a national planning agency: Mrs. Louise Mumm, secretary, Field Service Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; representative of a national service agency: Laurin Hyde, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York; representative of a local planning organization: C. F. McNeil, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia; representative of a local service agency affiliated with a national agency: Arthur M. Goldman, Executive Director, Elliot Park Neighborhood House, Minneapolis

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Determinants of Career Choice and Their Implications for Social Work—Techniques of Recruiting

Presiding: Mrs. Leona L. Applebaum, Director, Social Work Careers Program, Boston

Determinants of Career Choice and Their Implications for Social Work

Written by: Alfred Kadushin, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Presented by: Mrs. Betty H. Andersen, Executive Director, Careers in Social Work, Social Work Recruiting Committee of Greater New York

Techniques of Recruiting—a National Agency

Isabel Kremer, Director of Recruitment and Referral Division, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., New York

Techniques of Recruiting—a Community Program

Mrs. D. Reynold Gairing, Director, Career Opportunities in Social Work, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

Discussion leader: Howard J. Parad, Director, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Coordinated Approach to the Multiproblem Family

Presiding: Mrs. Mary Diamond, Director of Child Welfare, New York City Youth Board

Panel members: Norman Lourie, Executive Deputy Secretary,

Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Harrisburg; Herbert Aptekar, Executive Director, Jewish Community Service of Long Island; Julia Ann Bishop, Director of Casework, Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children; Ward I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Del.; Hon. Victor B. Wylegala, Judge, Children's Court of Erie County, Buffalo; Leon Eisenberg, M.D., Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Effect of Population Trends on Volunteer Services

Presiding: Robert F. Fenley, Director, Personnel Department, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York
Dan Dodson, Director, Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, School of Education, New York University, New York

Discussion leaders: Mrs. Gardiner Rapelye, Chairman of Volunteers, Kansas City and Jackson County Chapter, American Red Cross; Mrs. Mae Moffet, Bucks County, Pa.; Jean Hall, Director, Volunteer Bureau, White Plains, N.Y.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Philosophy and Practice in Adoption

(This is a continuation of the meeting on the same subject at 9:15 A.M.)

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Services for Children

Presiding: Mrs. Harold F. Kline, Director of Public Relations, Family Service of Philadelphia

"The Deep Well." Child Welfare League of America, 345 East 46th St., New York 17

2:00 P.M.-3:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Mental Health Films: Are They Meeting the Needs of the Community?

Panel chairman: Mrs. Aline B. Auerbach, Director, Department of Parent Group Education, Child Study Association of America, New York; Vice Chairman, Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Panel members: Mrs. Alberta Altman Jacoby, Mental Health Film Board, New York; Edward Linzer, Director of Education Services, National Association for Mental Health, New York; Max Silver-

stein, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Mental Health, Philadelphia

Floor discussion

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Presiding: Howard B. Gundy, Director, School of Social Work, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

"The Princess in the Tower." Contemporary Films, 13 East 37th St., New York 16

Panel members: Mrs. Sara-Alyce P. Wright, Leadership Services, YWCA of the U.S.A., New York

5:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

Film Strip Session

Presiding: Marguerite V. Pohek, Educational Director, Pocket Films, New York

FRIDAY, MAY 24

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. THE JUDICIAL AND SOCIAL WORK PROCESSES—ARE THEY COMPATIBLE OR INCOMPATIBLE?

Presiding: G. Richard Bacon, Executive Secretary, Pennsylvania Prison Society, Philadelphia

Monrad G. Paulsen, Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York

Discussant: Joseph J. Botka, Director, Family Court of the State of Delaware, Wilmington

GROUP MEETING 2. MARY RICHMOND'S PROCESS IN DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUALS

Presiding: Mrs. Elinor P. Zaki, Assistant Director, Publications Service, Family Service Association of America, New York

Mrs. Muriel Pumphrey, Lecturer, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; Research Associate, Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education

Discussant: Louis J. Lehrman, Professor of Social Casework, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

GROUP MEETING 3. THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE REHABILITATION PROCESS

Presiding: Bertram Black, Associate Director, Altro Health and Rehabilitation Services, New York

Cecile Hillyer, Director of Training, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Mrs. Hope Thompson, Southeastern Pennsylvania Heart Association, Philadelphia

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. BUILDING BLOCKS TOWARD A THEORETICAL SCHEME FOR THE STUDY OF FAMILY SITUATIONS AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Presiding: Herschel Alt, Executive Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York

Otto Pollak, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Research Consultant, Family Service of Philadelphia

Discussants: Henry Meyer, Professor of Sociology, New York University, New York; Mrs. Bernice Boehm, Director, New Haven Adoption Project, Child Welfare League of America, New York

GROUP MEETING 5. HOMEMAKER SERVICE AND PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

Presiding: Clark W. Blackburn, General Director, Family Service Association of America, New York

Homemaker Service in a Public Welfare Program

Frederick Breyer, Director, Hamilton County Department of Welfare, Cincinnati

Preserving the Values of Family Living through Homemaker Service

Philip M. Margolis, M.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Chicago

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 6. REFERRAL SERVICES PROVIDED BY DISTRICT OFFICES OF THE OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE PROGRAM: THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES

Presiding: John Hurley, Chief, Division of Program Operations, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Neota Larson, Chief, Welfare Branch, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Baltimore

Discussants: Frank J. Hertel, Associate General Director, Community Service Society, New York; Mrs. Luna Brown Leach, Assistant Executive Secretary, Greater Hartford Community Council, Hartford, Conn.

Floor discussion

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

Does Social Group Work Have Distinctive Characteristics?

Presiding: Saul B. Bernstein, Professor, School of Social Work, Boston University.

Does Social Group Work Have Distinctive Characteristics in Its Philosophy—in Comparison with, or Contrast to, Other Disciplines?

Helen U. Phillips, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Does Social Group Work Have Distinctive Characteristics in Its Practice—in Comparison with, or Contrast to, Practice with Groups in Related Fields or Disciplines?

Clara A. Kaiser, Professor, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

Floor discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. A COMMUNITY ORGANIZES TO FIGHT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Presiding: Lawrence E. Higgins, Executive Secretary, Louisiana Youth Commission, Baton Rouge

John J. Horwitz, Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education, New York; formerly Consultant, New York City Studies on Juvenile Delinquency Prevention

Discussants: Ralph W. Whelan, Executive Director, New York City Youth Board; Henry L. McCarthy, Commissioner of Welfare, New York

GROUP MEETING 2. SOME SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONING—EDUARD C. LINDEMAN MEMORIAL LECTURE

Presiding: Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League, New York

John H. Rohrer, Professor of Psychology and Director, Urban Life Research Institute, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

New Films

Presiding: Elsa Volckmann, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York; Chairman, Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

"Proud Years"

"Mr. Finley's Feelings." Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1 Madison Ave., New York

"Let's Discuss It." National Film Board of Canada, 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20

Program

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"Kid Brother." Mental Health Film Board, 13 East 37th St., New York
16

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

General Session. Social Welfare's Links to Social Values and Culture

Presiding: Margaret Hickey, President, National Conference on
Social Welfare

Report of the Treasurer

Report of 1957 Nominations Committee

Social Work's Links to Social Values and Culture

Max Lerner, columnist, New York *Post*.

Introduction of Conference President for 1958

Appendix B: Business Organization of the Conference for 1957

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE is a voluntary association of individual and organizational members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AND ASSOCIATE GROUPS

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GROUP MEETINGS**

Services Required by People Moving Internationally

Trends in International Social Welfare

Dorothy Lally, Washington, D.C.

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Louis L. Bennett, New York

Social Action and Social Welfare: Social Work's Stake in Public Policy

Social Action and Social Welfare: Three Success Stories

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*How to Bring to Families Sound Principles of Family Living through
Broad Community Channels*

*How to Bring to Families Sound Principles of Family Living through
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Social Work Tackles Urban Renewal

Fern Colborn, New York

Residence Requirements: More Doing—Less Talking

Laurin Hyde, New York

The Effect of Population Trends on Volunteer Services

Robert F. Fenley, New York

Rehabilitation in Social Welfare Today—New Concepts and Trends

*Rehabilitation in Social Welfare Today—The Place of Sheltered Em-
ployment in a Comprehensive Program of Community Social Wel-
fare Services*

Alexander F. Handel, New York

Desegregation and Integration

Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, New York

*Determinants of Career Choice and Their Implications for Social
Work—Techniques of Recruiting*

Mrs. Leona L. Applebaum, Boston

Social Services for the Suburbs—the Tale of Two Cities

Richard F. Huegli, Detroit

Local Community Planning and National Agencies' Services

Omar Schmidt, Minneapolis

Coordinated Approach to the Multiproblem Family

Mrs. Mary Diamond, New York

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 United Community Funds and Councils of America, Robert F. Fenley
 United HIAS Service, James P. Rice
 United Seamen's Service, Mrs. Lillian Rose
 Volunteers of America, Colonel John F. McMahon
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